

# FRENCH CANADA TODAY

## Editorial

### WHAT IS FRENCH CANADA?

The purpose of this special issue is not to present an "objective" survey of a society — an impossible and absurd undertaking in any case — but to give a number of intelligent, well-informed individuals a chance to discuss freely the future of the society in which they live.

We have asked some French Canadians and a few others to explain in detail some important problems facing French Canada today and to give their views on these problems. While we have tried to be fair and give all currents of opinion (and there are many) a chance to be represented, we realize the impossibility of publishing every view on every subject. The reader should thus remember that there are many French Canadians who disagree with the opinions expressed in this issue.

What we have hoped to achieve is no more than to arouse interest in some aspects of French Canada. We know we have not even scratched the surface, although we believe that the articles in this issue are symptomatic of the complexity and variety of the problems and tensions which agitate more and more this part of our country.

We hope that these contributions will help destroy forever the popular English myth of a French Canada which is viewed as mainly agricultural, blindly nationalistic, and Church-centered, and united against the omnipresent common enemy. If anything, the recent student strike has shown that the Duplessis view of provincial autonomy is not shared by everybody in French Canada.

French Canada is only apparently homogeneous. Like any evolving society, it is racked with internal tensions and disagreements. But it is also the most dynamic part of our society. The tensions are often resolved in cultural and artistic achievements which have done more than anything else to put Canada on the cultural map of the world and which in the long run may save us all from the Americanization of our way of life.

Indeed, one of the recurrent themes in all these articles, and one of the most striking evolutions of French-Canadian thought, is the increasing awareness that the real menace to the culture and way of life of French Canada no longer lies in Ottawa but comes from across the border.

On the one hand, the increasing acceptance of French-Canadians as equals by the rest of the country, and the growing respect for their rights, have reduced the antagonism of many French Canadians towards the English majority. There is a growing sense of participation in the Confederation, a greater sense of brotherhood. The grave nationalistic crises of the past may never have to occur again.

The deep unity of French-Canadian and English-Canadian university students displayed in the recent strike, the fact that University of Montreal students had to call on their English fellow-students to be able to exercise their right to hold a public meeting (even though the meeting was later called off) have done more to bring us all together than most of us realize. The resulting fraternity and mutual sympathy may be the greatest achievement of our strike.

Furthermore, while the irritated hostility of many English Canadians abates, there is a rapidly increasing and genuine appreciation of the French Canadian point of view, of the singular achievement the preservation of French culture in this country has been (especially if one looks at the agony of French in Louisiana), and of the immense contribution French Canadians are bringing to our cultural life.

A large part of the audience at French plays is English. Our most representative and original painters are French-Canadian. Our significant composers are mostly French. The French network of the C.B.C. is acclaimed across the continent as offering some of the best televised programs to be seen anywhere in the world. The whole country benefits from the increasing traffic between France and Quebec. Many of the troupes and performers which visit us would never have come here if it were not for the presence of large audiences understanding French.

On the other hand, an increasing number of Canadians of both races are becoming aware of the threat of Americanization. Undeniably, the American way of life has many positive and valuable aspects and its dangers are not as menacing as many people think. The real danger is the uniformization, the materialism, the commercialism, the unscrupulousness which is generally associated with the "American way of life", but which is no more an intrinsic part of that way of life than of any other way of life.

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## A FREE-THINKER LOOKS AT QUEBEC

By Anonymous

One of the most remarkable features of Quebec from the sociological point of view is its extraordinary imperviousness to ideas of change in the social organization. This is true of North America as a whole and particularly of Canada, but above all of Quebec. The cause may be found in the conservative outlook usually associated with populations of peasant origin, the isolation and general ignorance of external developments in which the bulk of that population remained for more than a century after the conquest, and the influence of the Church. A traditionally conservative group in matters of politics, it is a stabilizing influence where its advice is heeded, tending to favour the prevailing type of social organization or the party in power provided they are reasonably fair.

The influence of the Church is strong in Quebec for several reasons. Historically, the Catholic clergy became the natural intellectual leaders of French Canada after its ties with France were severed, and not being given to the corruption which pervaded the French High Clergy at that time and subsequently, it retained the confidence of the settlement. Thus, the revolutions which upset Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries left French Canada virtually unmoved. (The

rebellion of 1837 was of limited scale and had other objectives. In this respect, it should be noted that the clergy cautioned against participation in the rebellion, advising loyalty to the Crown as they had previously when they counselled resistance to the invading American Independence forces which were defeated at Quebec.) The clergy acquired a position of personal strength vis-à-vis their flock because of their intellectual superiority, great moral integrity and devo-

tion to the interests of the population. This personal prestige was reinforced by the social institutions which gave them responsibility for and control of education. Thus the Church could influence its subjects both by the powerful processes customary to religion and by the selective sifting of information to be made a matter for teaching. It is therefore generally recognized that although French Canada owes its survival as an integrated ethnical group to the Catholic Clergy, it paid a price the level of which has not yet been completely realized or assessed.

Yet, for all its religious education, French Canada in practice does not offer evidence of more than superficial compliance with the dictates of the Church. Casual association with its businessmen will dispel any suggestion that they are here to prepare their salvation in the other

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## MODERN QUEBEC NATIONALISM

By Gérard Filion

**ED'S NOTE** — Gérard Filion needs no introduction. As editor of *Le Devoir* which, in the opinion of some people is the only significant newspaper in this province, he has been constantly in the public eye. He has spoken at McGill, has appeared at innumerable public meetings and is often heard on radio and television. The significance of *Le Devoir* and Gérard Filion's movement is that they represent a liberal view of nationalism strongly opposed to the Union Nationale.

Les Canadiens-français forment 30% de la population du Canada et 3% de la population de l'Amérique du Nord. Sur 48 états américains et sur 10 provinces canadiennes, ils ne sont la majorité que dans la province de Québec.

Renversons les rôles. Supposons que le continent nord-américain est presque entièrement de civilisation et de langue françaises, que le Canada compte 9 provinces en majorité française et une seule, disons l'Ontario ou la Colombie-Britannique, en majorité anglaise. Est-ce que cette province anglaise ne serait pas aussi autonomiste que l'est la province de Québec? Poser la question c'est y répondre. Un peuple minoritaire se comporte toujours comme un peuple minoritaire, c'est-à-dire qu'il a peur d'être absorbé par la majorité et qu'il cherche à défendre sa culture et sa vie politique en recherchant la plus grande mesure d'autonomie compatible avec ses devoirs envers le pays auquel il appartient.

Le père du nationalisme canadien fut Henri Bourassa, fondateur du *Devoir* et député indépendant de Labelle à la Chambre des Communes. M. Bourassa lança l'idée nationaliste pour lutter contre l'impérialisme de Joe Chamberlain. Ce n'était pas un nationalisme canadien-français mais un nationalisme tout court. D'ailleurs il chercha toujours à rallier à sa cause le Canada anglais. Bourassa se révoltait contre le fait que la

politique étrangère du Canada se décidait à Londres et s'exécutait à Ottawa. Il voulait un Canada souverain et des provinces autonomes avec l'égalité des deux races de l'Atlantique au Pacifique.

Durant les dernières années de sa vie, Bourassa dénonçait avec la même vigueur l'influence prépondérante de Washington sur les décisions politiques du Canada.

Les Canadiens-français sont tous plus ou moins nationalistes, parce qu'ils se sentent plus profondément enracinés dans la terre canadienne que leurs compa-

tristes de langue anglaise. Si on faisait un plébiscite au Canada français pour savoir la forme de gouvernement souhaité je ne serais pas surpris que la majorité se prononçât pour la république.

Les Canadiens-Français sont-ils séparatistes? Quelques-uns, oui; la très grande majorité, non. La raison en est simple, c'est qu'il y a en dehors de la province de Québec plus d'un million de gens de langue française auxquels ils sont attachés par les liens du sang et de la culture. Mais la très grande majorité des Canadiens français sont autonomistes. Ils veulent que la constitution de

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# QUEBEC LABOUR AND POLITICAL ACTION BICULTURALISM AND DEMOCRACY

By Gérard Pelletier

**ED'S NOTE** — The illustrations in this issue are by a fourth-year McGill architecture student, Michael Byrne. One of Nova Scotia's many representatives in the rest of Canada, he also has two years of Senior Football behind him and is president of Phi Kappa Pi.

There are in this Province about 225,000 union members belonging to three different labor groups: (i) the Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labour, (ii) various branches of American unions and thirdly, (iii) affiliates of strictly Canadian labor unions originated in other Provinces of Canada, the last two groups being part of the recently merged Canadian Labor Congress.

French Canadian workers were not organized as early as their Ontario comrades. To give an idea of labor developments in Quebec over the last twenty years, one needs only a few basic figures: in the course of the last war, labor has almost tripled its membership, adding still another 25% between 1946 and 1958. But this remains proportional to the industrial enrollment over the same period: statistics reveal that while Quebec had added only 200,000 workers to its industrial manpower between 1839 and 1939, the movement was increased at such a pace during the war that the same number of 200,000 was added again within the ten following years. This is enough to explain that Quebec labor is still finding its way among the intricacies of social and political action.

In the field of economics and pure trade unionism, one might say that we have now made up for lost time. True, there are still in Quebec a number of unions which are strangely devoid of any fighting spirit or professional competence. But this is by no means our exclusive privilege! Big and large, Quebec labor has now become as militant and efficient as any other regional unit in Canada.

Even in the field of political action, I am not sure that we are as late as some superficial observers might think. Let us take Ontario for an example: everyone knows that a large section of Ontario labor has officially committed itself to support the C.C.F. party. It was, I think, a step in the right direction because it made clear for everyone that labor did not confine itself to collective bargaining.

## Untimely Decision

Was it a wise decision, though? At any rate, it was not a timely one, as far as immediate efficiency is concerned. With such an official backing from labor, the C.C.F. still could not threaten the Conservatives seriously, which would tend to prove that the membership did not follow the leaders...

But let us come back to Quebec. Here too labor has gradually become aware of the fact that collective bargaining was only part of its job. Except for a group of unions, mostly American Federation of Labor affiliates, in which "business trade unionism" still prevails, labor groups have come to realize that they could not be satisfied with capitalism as it stands now and that labor agreements did nothing to cure the most basic maladies of the society they lived in. Moreover our provincial law-makers made it clear at many points that a strong labor movement was to their mind a disturbing factor...

## Turning Point

In the beginning of 1949, something happened; that might well have been the turning point, when Mr. Duplessis introduced in the Legislative Assembly a "Labor Code" of his own in the form of a law project called Bill No. 5. It was clear from the beginning that if such a bill was passed, labor

would be in a straightjacket of the worst sort. It was also obvious that all labor groups would have to band together if they wanted to defeat the bill.

So, for the first time, labor unity existed in Quebec for a few weeks and Mr. Duplessis's "Labor Code" was defeated. The Union Nationale government never forgot that defeat, nor did Quebec labor.

Following this episode and a few others, like the "Asbestos strike", political action committees were formed within a good many labor unions, throughout the Province. What were the results? Let us list the positive aspects first and the failures second.

From that moment on, the movement as a whole never reverted to its former political "absenteeism" and no government has been in a position to pretend that it had labor on its side. Individual "betrayals" took place, some leaders were in favor again, more or less personally, with the Provincial Government, but these "friendship sprees" never lasted very long. While at the same time, militants at all levels of the labor movement were gradually indoctrinating themselves on the necessity of social reform and political action.

## Influence of Labour

At every election that took place after Bill 5, the voice of labor was heard and the influence of labor was felt. Labor's vote was no longer on the Government's side, a shift that brought to light the scandalous inadequacies of Quebec's electoral map, since a shift of such magnitude resulted in no major changes in the Government's majority in the Assembly. Labor's discussion of its social and political rôle also awakened the curiosity of the membership in relation with a whole range of problems which had heretofore been considered "taboo": education, civil liberties, etc. It also brought forward the traditional questions of the use of our natural resources or the development of social security, and the reappraisal of our society's attitude in such matters.

One important contribution of labor to political action in Quebec was to supply a team of leaders with an adequate mea-

Democracy is not easy, even under the best of circumstances. It is therefore important for Canadians to realize what particular pitfalls beset them.

First let me state my conviction that the recurrent vogue for preaching political morality in Quebec will by itself be of little avail. For as long as people do not believe in democracy there is no reason why they should accept its ethics. Their behaviour can be qualified as immoral, objectively speaking; but subjectively they are not conscious of wrong-doing, and consequently no force of charge can be expected from this quarter.

Canadians must resolve to build a new belief in democracy. Both French and English-speaking parts of Canada must convince themselves that democracy is a good thing for all Canadians, and that common ends and common means can be devised which will mean equal justice for both ethnic groups.

## Equality of Rights

Can French Canadians realistically demand absolute equality of rights with English Canadians, and can the latter honestly grant such a demand? Until that question can be satisfactorily answered, the Canadian nation should not be declared viable. The finding of that sa-

ure of financial and intellectual independence. At a time when hardly anyone could speak up without wondering what Mr. Duplessis would think and how he would retaliate, labor leaders could feel perfectly free and secure because they knew the rank and file would support them. Over the last ten years, it was obvious that the real opposition in Quebec rested not with the weak and hesitating Liberal Party but with organized labor.

It has been said however and not without truth that if labor in Quebec knows quite well what it wants to fight against, it is much less clear-headed about what it wants to promote politically.

The specific labor issues are indeed perfectly understood. In the field of labor laws, for instance, the movement has elaborated its demands more completely and consistently than any other social group. A book like Gérard Picard's "Labor Code" for instance with its 300 pages of detailed suggestions leaves no doubt on this point. The same thing could be said of labor's suggestions on many other problems.

The above mentioned criticism remains valid, however, if one has in mind an overall program of political reform. One may argue that it is not labor's job to elaborate such a synthesis but the fact remains that French Canadian workers are still only in the early stages of acquiring an overall political sense.

But without being too optimistic, one might say that they are learning, and learning fast.

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For instance, English Canadians must learn that it is no use expressing annoyance or disdain for Quebec nationalism, for that only aggravates the Province's defense-complex — such nationalism will only disappear when its causes are removed. Bi-culturalism must therefore be accepted as *chose donnée*, regrettable in some ways perhaps, complicated no doubt, costly, certainly, but none the less a fact. On the other hand, French Canadians must learn not to overstate the case for bilingualism, which only accentuates the economic insecurity of many English Canadians in established positions; there will always be many sectors (not necessarily backward areas or under-developed minds!) of both French and English Canada where knowledge of the "other" language will never be necessary.

But a point must be reached where the existence of that other language will be acceptable by all without hostility, even by those who do not possess a working knowledge of it. The fight to obtain and the fight to obstruct bilingual stamps, bank notes, departmental letter-heads, embassy plates, hotel names, transportation tickets, official signs, government cheques, and other assorted trivia, have consumed more energy on both sides than would suffice to increase by ten per cent Canada's gross national product, whereas in a mature bi-ethnic nation and under wise governments, such symbols would exist as a matter of course and be welcomed for their educational value.

## Underlying Problems

Still it must be realized that the question of symbols will never be really settled until the underlying problems are squarely met. At the present time, the problem of federal-provincial relations is perhaps the most important facet of the older challenge of bi-culturalism. Since the Second World War, the province of Quebec has clearly demonstrated that she will not let herself be geared into a continental economy by bribes or by intimidation; and yet the federal administration and the combined opposition have proven themselves singularly inept at tackling the problem, and at providing Canada with the unity of purpose required to survive an industrial revolution based on automation, cybernetics, and thermo-nuclear energy. Certainly no one should be deluded into believing that the goal is in sight! Yet some milestones have been passed.

## Post Domination

On the one hand, English Canada on the whole has ceased to be frightened of French Ca-

nada. The old bogies of French and papist domination are becoming a thing of the past, except for a dwindling lunatic fringe unable to read the demographic statistics. On the contrary, the importance of bi-culturalism as a dike against complete americanization is gradually being recognized, as can be seen from the reports of the Massey and Fowler Commissions.

On the other hand, French Canada is beginning to realize that the dangers which presently beset it are more internal than external. Time has proven that no one can stamp out the French Canadian ethos; but it may well peter out through its own inbred anemia if it fails to adjust itself to a Twentieth Century Canada. Consequently, the rising generations in Quebec are turning away from the defensive forms of clerico-nationalism and seem willing to gamble all their slowly accumulated protective traditions on the one chance that in fair and open competition they will prove themselves equals to the other language group.

The future of Canada belongs to those parties and politicians who can canalize the above tendencies into enlarged areas of compromise and understanding, and who, tackling the remaining problems resourcefully and courageously, will at least provide their country with a truly national democratic faith.

## A FREE THINKER LOOKS...

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# Sovereignty for Quebec?

By André d'Allemagne

In 1967 the Canadian Confederation will be one hundred years old. The unification of Canadian provinces into a federal state was not easy to achieve and today, after almost a century, it is often proposed to revise the whole political structure of Canada. In Quebec, where over 80% of the population has a different language, faith and cultural background from the rest of Canada, it is a fact that several individuals and groups advocate a new constitution the main purpose of which would be to decentralize our political life. Some would even go as far as to call for the withdrawal of French Canada from the confederation and the establishment of a completely independent French state in what is today the Province of Quebec.

This dream of a "Laurentie", although discarded by many as more mythical than serious, is nothing new among French-Canadian intellectuals and political thinkers. It is only the result of what the American historian Mason Wade has called "the latent tendency to separatism which has always been implicit in French-Canadian nationalism in time of crisis."

Such talk may seem strange, however, at a time of general prosperity, when a spirit of *bonne entente* seems to prevail more than ever between the two major ethnic groups. But to understand the attitude of French Canada towards Confederation, one must look closely at the tide of our history for the past two hundred years, as seen from a French-Canadian point of view.

## The Tragedy of Defeat

The first fact to keep in mind — one that is generally ignored by many Canadians outside Quebec — is that at the time of the English conquest New France was a young but prosperous and well-organized colony, with its own social and political institutions well adapted to the needs and spirit of the country. The feudal system in Canada was very far from any kind of slavery or tyranny. So much so that Mason Wade writes: "The society of New France was not stable but constantly evolving; and the social ladder was open to whoever had the energy and the will to climb it." And Thomas Costain confirms: "The system was feudal, it is true, but it supplied the merits of feudalism rather than the faults." So when the British invaded Canada, they found a relatively prosperous and happy society which had its own industries, government and even cultural élites.

A military defeat partly disorganized this society, but it did not crush its will to live and to remain itself. Today's historians and philosophers agree that the mere force of arms is not the basis for international law, and history has often since proven that conquered people as a rule have fought on and on to keep their culture, their language, and whenever possible to regain their political independence. This, from the start, was to be the reaction of French Canada.

## The Background of Confederation

Left to themselves, the French Canadians began to resist any move to assimilate them, despite Murray's program (which was thus described by Mason Wade: "An old French colony was to be remade into an English colony. English laws and English courts were established, and provision was made for a large influx of

British settlers... Assimilation was to be the order of the day.")

Later on, the Durham report recommended the union of English Upper Canada and French Lower Canada as a measure to make Canada once and for all an entirely British country. Both former provinces were to have equal representation in the new Parliament, although the population of Lower Canada was 650,000 and that of Upper Canada only 450,000. English was to be the only official language throughout the country. In spite of violent opposition and numerous petitions from both French and English elements, the Union Act was finally adopted in 1840. According to the Act, the debts of the two provinces were assumed by the new government, that of Lower Canada being of 95,000 pounds, as compared to 1,200,000 pounds for Upper Canada. Later on, Sir Allan MacNab was to say of the Union Act: "It was enacted with the sole motive of reducing the French Canadians under English domination." Heavy British immigration was then organized to outbalance the numerical superiority of French Canada, and in fact, the English population soon became predominant.

This, then, was the background for Confederation.

## The Confederation Pact

The growing danger of American expansion prompted England to create a strong and united British country in her remaining colonies of North America. But this idea of a Canadian Confederation of provinces was not readily accepted by all, far from it. From the very beginning, numerous groups were to raise strong protests in Ontario, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia. In Quebec, opposition was probably stronger than anywhere else.

Public meetings were held and petitions were sent to the government in an all-out effort to avoid what a notable oppositionist speaker, J. F. Perrault called "the political suicide of the French race in Canada". Many French Canadians indeed believed that Confederation would only multiply the numerical superiority of the English element, and eventually lead to the final assimilation of Quebec.

French Canadians, however, had little choice since they were already a minority. In Confederation, they began to see the possible birth of a new country in which there would no longer be any conqueror nor conquered, but the union of two races with equal rights and equal standing. Thus, Confederation was considered as a pact between French and English in Canada. In fact, it gave French Canadians a pro-

vince of their own, with a government of their own and the possibility to re-establish their own brand of social, economic and political institutions. It gave them more: the B.N.A. Act — which became the equivalent of a national Constitution — made the French civil law and the French language official in Quebec, and established bilingualism in Parliament and at all levels of the federal government. In addition, the respective fields of jurisdiction of federal and provincial governments were defined, thus giving additional guarantees for the relative autonomy of Quebec and the safeguard of her political and cultural interests.

## Deception and Reaction

It was not long, however, before the federal government, in which French Canadians were a minority, began to take steps which undermined the good will and confidence of Quebec. As Mason Wade writes: "... a strong spirit of reaction... was greatly furthered by the immediate infringement and violation of Confederation's guarantees of minority rights and privileges. Confidence in the newly achieved partnership of French and English was undermined at the outset of the period and in two decades' time the relations between the two groups had once more reached a state of major crisis."

In 1871, four years after Confederation, Catholic schools were closed in New-Brunswick, and the teaching of French forbidden. In 1890, the government of Manitoba abolished all grants to French schools in the province, in spite of the B.N.A. Act which maintained all the privileges granted to minority groups before or at Confederation. In 1892, the laws enacted in Manitoba were likewise adopted in the North-West Territories.

The First World War was to widen the gap between Quebec and the rest of Canada. English Canadians, who still considered England as "the mother country", found it only normal that Canada should fight at her side. French Canadians, however, who had always considered Canada — and Canada only — as their motherland, did not see any advantage in the nation's direct intervention in what seemed to them to be a purely European war. Furthermore, at the very time when they were asked to defend "freedom and civilization", French Canadians had to struggle for the maintenance of their schools in Ontario. That was the time when a conservative Member of Parliament, H. B. Morphy, went as far as to say: "Never shall we let the French Canadians implant in Ontario the disgusting speech they use." To this French Canadians replied

that the fight for freedom and justice was to be fought not so much on the battlefields of Europe as in the schools of Ontario and the rest of Canada.

The increasing isolation of Quebec, in the midst of the conscription issue, led a Quebec M.P., J. N. Francoeur, to table in the provincial legislature a motion that Quebec "... would be disposed to accept the breaking of the Confederation Pact of 1867 if, in the other provinces, it is believed that she is an obstacle to the union, progress and development of Canada." Although the motion was finally defeated, it was widely discussed by the press and the public, and it indicates to what extent general discontent had spread in Quebec.

## The Way to Centralization

The economic crisis of 1929 led the province to ask for federal help. Ottawa took this opportunity to engage in a vast program of nation-wide centralization. Thus in 1927, the federal government had already established the old age pension, which was to be the first in a series of federal measures in public welfare. In 1932, the Canadian Broadcasting Commission was created. And in 1934, the Bank of Canada was established. All these developments, based on the Lowell-Sirois report, tended to change the federal government gradually into a truly national government.

The Second World War again imposed conscription on a reluctant Quebec. The war also gave the federal government new opportunities for intervention in provincial fields of jurisdiction. Thus in 1941 Ottawa established the national unemployment insurance. In 1942, tax agreements between Ottawa and the provinces gave the federal government the right to collect income taxes for the duration of the war. (A right which has not yet been given back to the provinces.) In 1949, the Massey Commission was created to enquire into the means of creating a centralized educational and cultural program. In 1951, the federal government offered grants to universities, in spite of articles 92 and 93 of the B.N.A. Act which place education under the exclusive jurisdiction of the provinces. And in 1957, the Canada Council, whose mission extends to all Canada, was considered by many French Canadians as a new attempt to impose on them a foreign culture under the guise of a vague "Canadianism".

## The Birth of a Nation

All these historical considerations — which are by no means complete nor perhaps entirely objective — are only intended to explain how history has led the French Canadian people to resent strongly any interference of the federal government in the territory of their province, and to see in Ottawa a foreign and often hostile power whose tendency has always been to try and assimilate them. History has taught to French Canadians to be on guard for the defense of their rights and their national identity. Two centuries of conflict, as well as today's situation, have also shown them that Ca-

nada as a whole — with the sole exception of Quebec — is no longer their country but a foreign land where they cannot even speak their language and where their status is the same as that of any immigrant. And when today English Canadian elites speak about the creation of an original "Canadian" culture or promote a new "Canadianist" philosophy, Quebec shrugs her shoulders. What exactly would that "Canadian" culture be? How does one "create" a culture? Is not a national culture the product of national unity and homogeneity, rather than the means of achieving it? Besides, the French Canadians already have their culture: that which their forefathers brought with them from one of the world's most civilized lands, and to which they have added a blend of their own. French Canadians can hardly be expected not to frown on the idea of a new "Canadianist" doctrine when they see its tenants oppose any truly national characteristic (such as a Canadian flag and a national anthem) and maintain purely sentimental ties with British institutions be they outmoded or contrary to the interests of Canada.

It becomes evident that today's "Canadianism" is only the political ideal of English Canada. As the historian Michel Brunet writes, "the Ottawa government has become and will remain the national government of English Canada... A Canadian or British American state and nation has emerged since 1760... This nation is monarchist, British and Protestant... French Canadians have only one national government... that is the government of the Province of Quebec."

## A Countryless People

Not only do French Canadians feel they are foreigners in English Canada, but they do not even feel entirely at home in their own province where the English language is sometimes imposed on them and where their industries, natural resources and economic possibilities are almost completely controlled by people from other provinces or other countries. Quebec is 82% French, but the French element of the population controls less than 25% of the provincial economy. Worse yet: the numerical importance of French Canada is weakened from year to year by the influx of immigrants who are almost all absorbed by the English element, either because they are selected from British countries or because they are taught that they must learn English — and English only — if they want to succeed in Canada.

French Canadians thus appear to be a countryless people, surrounded by the American Colossus and the rapidly developing giant of English Canada. And yet Quebec has all the characteristics and attributes of a nation: her own territory, her language, her racial unity, her laws and customs, her faith, to a certain degree her way of life, and even her flag.

Recent years have demonstrated once more that the normal tendency of a nation is

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# McGILL vs U of MONTREAL

By Georges Héllal

**ED'S NOTE** — *Georges Héllal, a 23-year-old native Montrealer, took his B.A. at McGill (1955) and is presently completing an M.A. in philosophy at the University of Montreal. He expects to go to Oxford next year. His ambitions are "to teach philosophy and practice it if possible."*

Since my graduation from McGill in 1955, much water has run under the bridge. However, I don't think its general atmosphere has changed to such an extent that my opinions would not be substantially the same if I were there today.

## Education

It is my strong belief that education is one of the strongest factors in moulding one's general outlook on life. I don't wish to theorize on the subject but the social sciences amply support this point of view. The way of life which is impressed on us during our formative years usually mark us for life. Family, school and society in general, are great educators.

The importance of education appears to me as being the source-intuition by which we may understand the general makeup of both student bodies. Of course there are individuals who walk outside the common path but I am discussing the general tendencies of these two groups.

The constituent members of both universities vary a great deal. McGill is much more international. All nationalities and creeds make up its student body, although it is true that Canadians form the largest segment. Students of the U. of M., besides being for the most part French Canadian, are also Roman Catholic. The fact that this faith is taught to them during all their pre-university years bears some importance. We must not forget that the teaching of religion and daily inculcation of the Christian way of life is fundamental to Catholic education. That is why this Church has always insisted on having its own schools.

There is then the social environment which certainly constitutes an important educational factor. Having been at both universities, I am in a good position to understand the political and intellectual outlook of both groups of students. The task of judging the students of U. of M. is greatly facilitated by their being a homogeneous group. They tend to act for the same purpose with the same enthusiasm. This would to some extent explain their success in the Blood Campaign and the inability of McGill in ever superseding them. The U. of M., unlike McGill, is not only a centre of higher learning, but one of social dynamism for French Canadian culture. As we shall see, this force is transmitted to their political activities.

A quick examination of the school systems will also throw some light on certain aspects of university life.

Those who enter McGill are usually recent High School graduates or their equivalent. Most of them pursue undergraduate studies. Most of U. of M. students have received their B.A. degree in one of the many colleges affiliated with the university. These colleges offer an eight year course of which the first four years may be compared somewhat to the

four years in the High School System, with the exception that the latter stresses mathematics and science to a higher degree. The last four years make up the Arts course and stress the sciences to a higher degree. For the past few years, however, U. of M. has been offering night courses leading to the B.A. degree. The Arts course is currently being completely revalued, for the better, I think.

Besides the colleges leading to the B.A. degree, there exists the high school system quite similar to the English-speaking counterpart. These schools direct their students towards the scientific faculties whereas the colleges are supposed to give a humanistic education and open all doors to higher education.

I have tried to give the general background of both student bodies. It is rather inadequate for reality is much more subtle and complex. The main purpose was to give a fair idea of the general facts.

## Professional Interests

Those who enter McGill generally do so with practical intent. Being practical does not exclude having high and noble intentions. I am saying that if one wishes to become an engineer, he will immediately enter engineering. If he wishes to become a scientist, he will enter the Faculty of Arts and Science and in his second or third year of undergraduate studies, he will honour in his chosen field. If he wishes to become a lawyer or doctor, he will pass through the necessary channels and take short cuts if possible. At U. of M. you will find many studying for their B.Sc. degree who already have completed their B.A. studies. The number of B.A. graduates studying engineering would stagger many a McGill student.

I have noticed that at McGill many more students enter the scientific faculties than at U. of M. The staple professions, i.e., Law, Medicine, etc., still seem to be favoured by French Canadians. I qualify this statement, however, by adding that there are more and more students entering the scientific faculties. There are roughly 950 students studying engineering today.

What is remarkable is that comparatively few students go for basic research at U. of M. The other day, as I was talking to a Japanese doctor studying experimental medicine under Dr. Selye, he expressed his astonishment at the fact that everyone of his colleagues was a foreigner. There was not even a French Canadian. This he could not understand, considering the reputation of Dr. Selye. I was not surprised. The French Canadian colleges have not given an adequate ed-

ucation for some decades. They have lacked in encouraging that critical, somewhat self-sufficient mind eager for discovery. Students have gone through a maze of compulsory subjects without ever knowing the purpose of studying them. The sciences being so badly taught because of the system, many were discouraged from pursuing a scientific career. When I was at McGill, students generally seemed more impassioned for knowledge. This difference between both universities is due not only to prior education, as I have just noted in the case of the French Canadian colleges, but also to the whole social fabric which is very different in both cases. At present, French Canadians are centering all their energies on French Canada itself, in all its complexity. Again, however, in many fields there are more and more who seek original thought.

The French Canadian High Schools direct their students towards the sciences. But I find that the zeal for knowledge is not as intense as it should be. At McGill, although there is a greater desire to know, very many, I think, are motivated by ambition and not by knowledge for its sake and usefulness. By ambition, I do not mean the pursuit of financial interests (this is to be found everywhere, I guess) but personal glory, the feeling that you are looked up to. At U. of M. this is less noticeable.

## Intellectual and Artistic Interests

It is important to note that most faculties are centered in one building. This is very important for the exchange of ideas. Because of the dispersion of buildings at McGill this advantage is reduced.

As might be expected, a wider variety of subjects are discussed at McGill. This may be understood by the fact that a great variety of nationalities and creeds make up its student body whereas the U. of M. is much more homogeneous culturally and religiously.

Both universities are giving great importance to artistic activities. For many years, McGill has fostered the different artists of all fields. This year, the *Société Artistique* of the U. of M. has launched a very ambitious programme overshadowing by far the previous years. World-renowned artists have been invited to give concerts. Canadian artists have appeared in chamber music recitals. The University theatre was inaugurated less than a month ago. Much alteration has been given to the plastic arts. The *American Arts* exhibition was prepared in collaboration with McGill.

## Political Interests

French Canadian students are primarily interested in the destiny of French Canada. For all practical reasons, this means the province of Quebec. I do not think it would be far-fetched to say that Quebec is their first love. If you look at their political attitude, you will see my view point.

The provincial and, oddly enough, the municipal elections, (Continued on Page 6)

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# EDUCATION IN QUEBEC

## THE FRENCH-CANADIAN B.A. OR COURS CLASSIQUE

By Abbé Adrien Bluteau

**ED'S NOTE** — Abbé Adrien Bluteau, presently secretary-general of the Federation of Classical Colleges, is one of Quebec's most prominent educators. A graduate of Laval University, he had an extensive teaching career before reaching his present position. He is also a well-known radio personality. In this article he outlines the system of secondary education which prevails in Quebec and whose differences from English-speaking high schools is striking since it results in a Bachelor's degree and entitles the graduate to enter professional faculties without the four-year course of university studies required from the high school graduate.

A student who has finished his 7th year of primary school or even his 6th can be admitted to the classical course if he has the abilities. He thereby engages in an 8-year course which corresponds to high school and college together. At the end of these 8 years he will obtain from the university to which the classical college is affiliated a degree of bachelor of arts. With that diploma he can enter any faculty.

### Where Is The Course Given?

The classical course in Quebec is generally given in private institutions, most of which receive government help. These institutions are called séminaires, collèges, jувénats or convents in case of girls. Since 1954, the public schools give the first four years, i.e. the equivalent of high school. Even though these schools are mostly run by religious orders, their students are absolutely free to select their path in life. Furthermore in colleges and séminaires directed by priests, 20 p.c. of the teachers are lay.

### Program Of The Classical Course

a) In general. Our classical course has been conceived as an 8-year unit during which the student, after his primary course, studies French, English, ancient languages, history, geography, mathematics, sciences, literature, philosophy and morality. During the years the relative importance of these various disciplines has varied but one tried to bear in mind for each of these subjects a minimum sufficient to enable our graduates to be acquainted with more than just a few subjects, precisely for the reason that our B.A. opens the doors to all faculties and in order that our students have a general culture.

Faced with the vastness of the notions which one needs to acquire today to be "clear about everything" other nations have since long adopted the classical course with options, i.e. that after two or three years the student chooses among the disciplines those which agree most with his tastes or with the studies he intends to pursue at the university. Thus in given subjects he will be ahead of our own (Quebec) student.

We of Quebec have tried longer to preserve the whole which agreed most with our national traditions and with the idea we had of culture. Were we right or wrong? The discussion of this question would carry me too far. As a matter of fact, nevertheless, our course are beginning to become diversified. Two important commissions are actually at work, one in Quebec City, one in Montreal, to try and establish the program(s) which would best serve present needs. But we have not waited to make changes.

b) In particular. In Quebec, today, one can follow the classical course and obtain a B.A. in different ways. The study of Greek is no longer compulsory:

many are the students who do not study it. The students who want to complete their classical course at the university college of Quebec City can go directly with their B.A. into second year engineering. Those of Montreal are at liberty to take courses which prepare them while still in college to enter second year of engineering or medicine, depending on whether they follow section A, where the accent is on literature and philosophy, or section B, which insists on chemistry and biology, or section C which tends more to mathematics and physics.

If one compares our courses with the specialized or honors courses in sciences, it is evident that the latter provide more scientific studies than we do. Should we give specialized courses? That is another question which the two commissions I mentioned earlier will have to decide.

### Length Of Course

An objection frequently heard is that our course is too long and that elsewhere young men enter university far earlier than ours do. That is possible. Everything depends on what one wants to teach students before they begin to specialize. We have tried maintain a sufficiently advanced general course before enabling student to specialize. In spite of that, it is not always true that the foreign student

## LE JEU

Don't bother me I'm terribly busy

A child is starting to build a village  
It's a city, a county  
Who knows?

Soon the universe.

He's Playing.

These wooden blocks are houses he moves about and castles  
This flat piece makes a sloping roof not at all bad to look at  
It's quite something to know which way the road of cards will turn  
This could change completely  
the courses of the river

Because the bridge makes so beautiful a reflection  
on the water of the carpet

It's easy to have a tall tree  
And to put a mountain underneath  
so it'll be high up.

Happy playtime! Paradise of liberties!  
But above all don't put your foot in the room  
You never know what might be in this corner  
Or whether you are going to crush the favourite  
among the invisible flowers

This is my box toys  
Full of words for weaving marvellous patterns  
For uniting separating matching  
Soon the unfolding of the dance  
And suddenly a clear burst of laughter  
That one thought had been forgotten  
A gentle flip of the finger  
And the star  
Which hung so delicately  
At the end of a flimsy thread of light  
Falls, and makes rings on the water  
Of love of tenderness who would dare to doubt  
But not two cents worth of respect for the established order  
Or for politeness or this precious discipline —  
A levity and practices fit to scandalise important people  
He arranges words for you as if they were simple songs  
And in his eyes one can see his mischievous pleasure  
At knowing how under the words he twists everything around  
And treats the mountains  
As if they were his very own.  
He turns the room upside down and truly we're lost our way  
As if it was fun just to fool people.  
And yet in his left eye when the right is smiling  
A supernatural importance is imparted to the leaf of a tree  
As if this could be of great significance  
Had as much weight in his scales  
As the war of Ethiopia  
In England's.  
We are not book-keepers  
Everyone can see a green dollar bill  
But who can see through it  
except a child

Who like him can see through it quite freely  
Without being in the least hampered by it or its limitations  
Or by its value of exactly one dollar  
For he sees through his window thousands of marvellous toys  
And has no wish to chose between these treasures  
No desire or necessity  
Not he  
For his eyes are so big they take everything.

finishes his studies earlier than the young French Canadian. I cite some figures drawn from an investigation made by Mr. Jean-M. Beauchemin in Novem-

ber 1956.

A student who wants to become a doctor will obtain his doctorate in medicine in his 20th (Continued on Page 6)

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## McGILL B.A. VS. COURS CLASSIQUES

(Continued from page 5)

year of study at the University of Montreal, McGill, Alberta and the United States. He would obtain it in this 19th year of study at the University of Toronto or in a Belgian or French university. If he wants a B.Sc., he can obtain it in his 16th year of study at the University of Montreal and McGill, but only in his 17th year at the University of Toronto. Notice that these figures presuppose 7 years of primary school. But a large number of our students begin their classical course after only six or even five years. Furthermore, the junior matriculation is obtained at the end of the 11th year in Quebec, but only the 12th year in Ontario. This question thus is very complex and a clear-cut answer is impossible.

### Number Of Students

Another question is that of the number of students who take or should take the classical course. Let us first note that two years ago the Quebec Education Department decided to

### McGILL vs. U. OF M.

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grip the U. of M. students to a much greater extent than do the federal elections. During the last municipal elections, hundreds of students freely gave their time working at the polls. They fiercely backed Mayor Drapeau. His defeat dealt such a blow that students talked about it for weeks.

This certainly eludes the general mentality of the McGill student who is much more interested in federal politics. Yet on both sides the attitude is understandable. For the French Canadian, his way of life depends on how Quebec is governed and how its institutions function. The English-speaking Canadian does not have this problem and naturally looks to Ottawa. In his psychological attitude, the French Canadian student sees Ottawa as far away and remote, run primarily by and for the nine other provinces. This attitude may be unfortunate but I believe it to be true. These two different political attitudes are well typified by both McGill and U. of M. students.

At McGill you will find more discussion of international politics. This is due no doubt, in good part, to the great number of foreign students. It is remarkable that those who continuously discuss world affairs at U. of M. are mostly foreigners or newly-arrived immigrants.

### Conclusion

There is only one reflection I wish to make. If English-speaking Canadians and French Canadians understood each other's behaviour (they are real and deep-rooted), many prejudices would vanish, for it is usually ignorance which breeds prejudice. A comparison of both universities has afforded, I hope, the chance of understanding a little more clearly the differences of outlook.

call "secondary education" all non-professional education which is given in the 8th, 9th, 10th or 11th year, whether classical or not. So that to give the statistics of our colleges without including those of public schools where "secondary education" is now also given, would be a distortion of the picture. If we take the population of our colleges without taking into account the 2,500 French-Canadians registered in English institutions, we also distort the picture. Moreover, it must be noted that the overwhelming majority of our graduates proceed to university, which is not the case of high school graduates. What is the ideal percentage of the population which ought to go to a classical college or, in English terms, to high school and college, since our course comprises both?

If one relies on newspaper, it seems that the Russians manage to give that type of education to a record number of students. At the high school level in the U.S., the figure is 30 p.c. What about Quebec? The figures published by Mr. Beauchemin in the Bulletin de la Fédération des Collèges Classiques are as follows:

"If one estimates that 15 p.c. of our children are capable of reaching the level of a B.A., there were in 1956 in Quebec about 4,500 boys and as many girls in that category.

"Among that very superior group, in 1956, there were 1,200 male and 120 female bachelors, or 27 p.c. and 3 p.c. of those capable.

"If one assumes that the Universities accept each year as

many non-bachelor as bachelor students, one can conclude that about 2,400 students who are capable reach the B.A. level (whether they actually take the degree or not. The conclusions are self-evident:

1) More than 50 p.c. of the capable boys do not reach the B.A. level nor enter University;

2) More than three quarters of capable girls do not attain the B.A. level;

3) The criterium of 15 p.c. used to determine the number of those capable of higher studies is very severe. It may possibly have to be 25 p.c.;

4) If 25 p.c. is used as a criterion, one must conclude that two-thirds of those capable do not reach the level of studies of which they are capable." (Bulletin de la Fédération des Collèges Classiques, Vol. 111, no. 3, Dec., 1957, p. 8).

With respect to school attendance, the latest figures of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics indicate that at the superior or university level our situation can be compared favorably with that of Canada as a whole and that of most other provinces.

The last four years of classical college are officially included in these statistics of superior education. They form 45 p.c. of the university enrollment in Quebec. Our conclusion thus is that classical colleges far from putting a brake on university enrollment, on the contrary favor, by their presence in the various regions of our province, the access of children to higher education.

Ed's note: translated from French by Claude-Armand Sheppard.

### STUDENTS AT THE SUPERIOR LEVEL

Boys and Girls, 1956-57

	Total population	Population: 17-24 yrs.	Students total	% of attendance with respect to population: 17 to 24 yr.
Canada	16,080,791	1,806,298	78,100	0.48
Quebec	4,028,378	567,377	25,700	0.55
Ontario	5,404,933	569,185	23,800	0.44

Sources: D.B.S., Canada Census, 1956, Bulletin 1-10 (31-7-57), D.B.S., Fall enrollment in University and Colleges, 1956, (7001-502-126).

## QUEBEC GRAPHIC ARTS

(Continued from page 11) delicate, sensitive portraits, but all falling too easily into affectation.

Stanley Cosgrove paints stereotyped figures, sexless individuals, as disindividualized as his trees, with conventional classicism.

Paul Beaubien is, like Cosgrove, a decorator: he does on a muscular, harsh level what Cosgrove does on that of chic and good taste: stylized forms, cleverly organized planes, everything is subjected to a decorative arrangement. The important series of watercolors which he has just exhibited at the Fine Arts Museum in Montreal shows him under a different light: the professional virtuosity becomes a colored joyfulness and an airy lightness of form.

As elsewhere in Canada, sculpture remains the black sheep of art. Being on exterior art, a social art, it must rely on the assistance of public bodies, of architects, decorators, bene-

factors, of the élite in other words. Until now that support has been lacking. There still is a Pierre Normandeau, whose works, exhibit their small size and because of their very modesty, impress through the fullness of their form, the cleanliness of their matter, their spirit of synthesis. There is also Robert Roussil, excellent artisan of Cubic inspiration who unrolls in space organic and generous forms. Incidentally, the museum of Antibes, France, has recently acquired one of his works. There is finally Louis Archambault whose very stylized, very aerodynamic forms have always made me think, whatever their proportion, of a curio. But he has just finished an important monumental work destined to the Canadian pavilion at the World Fair in Brussels and about which a lot of praise is being heard.

Ed's note: translated from the French by Claude-Armand Sheppard.

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# CULTURE IN QUEBEC

## THE FRENCH-CANADIAN PRESS

By Michel Roy

**ED'S NOTE** — Michel Roy is attached to the Canadian Press news agency. A graduate in philosophy from the University of Montreal, he was on the staff of "LE CANADA" until the disappearance of that newspaper in 1954. He was one of the founders of the cultural and political weekly "L'AUTORITE DU PEUPLE." In December 1957 he participated in the special issue of the McGill Daily on Albert Camus, 1957 winner of the Nobel literature prize.

The principal phenomena which have marked the evolution of the press in French Canada during the last few years are: uniformization of information techniques, depersonalization and americanization of the newspapers format and prosperity of the yellow press.

Being the consequence of industrialization, systematic obscurantism and the weakening of French culture in America, these symptoms are, to a large extent, attributable to the heedlessness displayed by the information press which, after having supplanted the opinion press and the party press, believed that it could inform without forming and substituted for the professional journalist the passive witness of an entertaining actuality and the translator of news agency despatches.

In view of the present campaign of purification of the scandal sheets, it might be useful to inquire into the causes of their success, and, beyond these, into the condition of the press which claims to fight them. Indeed, although the religious and civil authorities might succeed in stamping out their publications (by means which the end does not always justify) the causes which made them popular will not disappear so easily.

It would be naive to think that the problem of the press in Quebec is exclusively one of the proliferation of yellow sheets. That is only the consequence of the very vast problem of which we are only becoming aware now.

### Circulation

Of 97 Canadian dailies, whose total circulation is about 8,800,000, 12 are French. The circulation of the English press amounts to about 83% of the total, the remaining 17% being the share of the 12 French dailies. From these 12 French papers, three are published in Montreal: La Presse (circ. 220,207); Montréal-Matin (circ. 82,443); Le Devoir (circ. 80,000); three are published in Quebec city: L'Action Catholique (circ. 80,000); Le Soleil et l'Événement-Journal (total circ. 123,778); one in Ottawa: le Droit (circ. 300,000); one in Sherbrooke: La Tribune (circ. 80,000); one in Granby: La Voix de l'Est (circ. 12,000); one in Chicoutimi: Le Progrès du Saguenay (circ. 5,000); one in Moncton, L'Évangéline (circ. 15,000).

With the exception of Montréal-Matin, which represents the Union Nationale and specializes in brief news items and sports; of L'Action Catholique, which in a way is the unofficial spokesman of a section of the clergy and expresses the thoughts of a large number of Catholics in this province; and of Le Devoir, which, to some extent, embodies neo-nationalist thinking and, through its comments, attempts to seek the meaning of the news, the other French dailies limit themselves to the mere publication of news and, in their editorial columns, comment on it using as a general standard that one must do good and fight evil.

As a whole, the newspapers publish most of the news without selection. It is in that way that one can say that they are free.

### Sources of Information

With the exception of Montréal-Matin, served solely by the British United Press, all these dailies participate in the French Section of the Canadian Press, a translation office opened in 1951 to meet the obvious needs of our bilingual country. That service transmits, after selection, condensation, translation and abridgment, the despatches emanating from the English service of the Canadian Press the Association Press and Reuters. It has a characteristic which, on the technical level, provokes the admiration of laymen and facilitates extraordinarily the task of certain newspapers: teletypography or automation adapted to journalism. Transmitted by teletypes, the texts are inscribed on a perforated ribbon which the linotype automatically unscrambles and recomposes in type more rapidly than the hand of a typesetter. In a few minutes, the copy of the teletype reaches the composing room.

Thus, the texts received in the press room are, in theory, finished products which call for no revision. In many cases, they are neither rewritten nor commented upon, but published as transmitted by the agency. Thus, an account of a sitting of the Federal Parliament is very often identical word for word, in most of the French-speaking press from Moncton to Ottawa (which is also the case of many English newspapers). While all French papers do not subscribe to the teletypography, they all receive the same news despatches.

The French Service of the Canadian Press is an admirable realization on the technical level which transmits about 40,000 words a day (international, national, local and sports news). Nevertheless, it is nothing more than a translation office for the use of French newspapers in a province which distinguishes itself from all the others, not only through its language, but also through its different culture. Moreover a translation office where the quality of the French used is doubtful, manifestly cannot meet the needs of the French-speaking press on this continent.

### Cultural Problem

If this French service were only an aid to the daily press (as is the case of La Presse, which, besides receiving despatches from France-Presse and

references are first summarized in English, then retranslated into French by the French section of the Canadian Press. A French speech, a session of Parliament, documents, whether French or bilingual, are first translated from French into English and then retranslated into French.

If it were only a question of language, if it were only a question of blunt facts which remain the same even in Chinese or Portuguese (such as a plane crash), one might allow or even praise this system. But as soon as one wants to report, for instance, the deliberations of a congress on education in Quebec, it becomes evident that Joe Smith and Baptiste Gagnon will not react in the same way before the same facts. They might both speak English and French perfectly, the same words will not mean the same things. Whatever one may say about it, a newspaperman reports an event according to a basic outlook and mentions those facts which seem to him more important than others, according to whether he belongs to one or the other culture. In short, there are two cultures in Canada and every means of information ought to take that into account.

Rather than being an institution conceived for French Canada and adapted to its needs, the French Service of the Canadian Press is a dispensary of

rapid translations on which is conferred, in view of the use made of it, the statute of an institution. Who is responsible? The newspapers of French Canada, and, generally, all those who accept this regime, not excluding the journalists themselves. The Canadian Press news agency being a cooperative, it is the members who establish its policy. And, if one excludes some rare and timid attempts, no member from French Canada has as yet proposed a reform. No French-Canadian institution has yet concerned itself with this problem whose very existence is ignored.

It is of course true that the newspapers have become commercial enterprises, living on advertising. Costs are such that the owners (businessmen, not journalists) are unwilling to reduce the rate of profit on order to increase the budget news or editorial departments.

### The Easy Way Out

Due to lack of means, the editorial staff of the dailies are inadequate and succumb to the temptation of facility: the despatches from news agencies are published without explanatory comments; typographical presentation is poor and colorless; when reading the despatches of some French newspapermen, one often wonders if these texts are not poor translations from

(Continued on Page 8)

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## TWO POEMS AFTER SAINT-DENYS GARNEAU

## CAGE D'OISEAU

I am a bird cage  
A cage of bone  
With a bird  
The bird in the cage of bone  
  
Is death building his nest  
When nothing is happening?

One can hear him flutter his wings  
And after one has laughed for a time

If one suddenly stops  
His soft note can be heard  
Deep down  
Like a little bell

It is a bird held captive  
This death in my cage of bone

Would he not like to fly away?  
Is it you who will hold him?  
Is it I?  
What is it?

He cannot go away  
Until he has eaten all  
My heart  
The spring of blood  
With my life inside

He will have my soul in his beak.

Frank Scott.

## The French Canadian Press . . .

## (Continued from P. 7)

the English, since the editorial staff, who are no longer the product of a rigorous discipline, have fallen under the influence of the americanization of techniques and have been given texts to translate before they have learned to write French correctly. Discouraged, some young staffers give up; editors refuse to form specialists who through their comments, would explain the news.

Under these conditions, the dailies are dull and grey. The readers find every day on page one the classic international despatches, literally translated. What is the meaning for them of the Bagdad Pact conference seen through the eyes of the A.P. correspondent in Ankara, whose despatches are abridged and brutally served to a public which does not understand them? Which role does the journalist play in interpreting and publicizing information? Almost none, if one excepts the writers for *Le Devoir*. As we will see later, *Le Devoir* tries to achieve a formula which apparently meets the needs of an important section of the reading public.

As a result, readers have lost all contact with the reality of international events, if not of national or provincial news. They lose interest, save when a scandal occurs, and prefer the pages of local news where, like in the English papers, the trivial details are innumerable: addresses of the witnesses of the accident; name of the policeman who arrested the villain after a man-hunt described in rich detail; reaction of the wife of the courageous fireman, and other news of this type.

Little by little, the readers have acquired the habit of looking for the entertaining aspect of news: how many glasses did

Krushev drink at the cocktail party of the Turkish embassy? What was the attitude of Parisian women to the presence of 1,300 newspapermen at the NATO conference? "Human interest" dominates. How often did Ike touch his forehead during his speech? What did really happen to Sarah Churchill in Los Angeles?

**Evolution of the Reading Public**  
This evolution of the reading public is not limited to French Canada. It has also occurred in varying degrees everywhere in the western world. Everywhere, the owners of newspapers discover that "human interest" is indispensable food for the taste of the public.

But in French Canada that evolution is characterized by the proliferation of newspapers which, precisely, seek to satisfy a public fed up with the big information press.

The information press has for too long disregarded the true needs of the public: the need to understand, to visualize clearly the sense of a political development, the need to know what exactly is the meaning of the Franco-Tunisian conflict, the politics of Soukarno, the Rapacki plan, the need to know how particular events can touch them. One neglects to communicate to him, save a final communiqué, the meaning and impact of an international conference which might determine peace, stop rearmament, promote a new alliance. That role of interpretation, without which the cold despatches of a news agency to not touch the public, is abandoned by the editorial writers whose sweetened words are seldom read, as can be seen from statistics. One comes to believe that news agency despatches are really a finished product while in reality they are only the raw

materials, the raw information which then, experience journalists, in each daily, prepare, present clearly and if need be, explain.

In what way then does the French-Canadian press differ from the English? There is no difference. And that is the great problem. If there is a difference, it lies in the fact that the French press is less informed, offers less reading matter. This perhaps also explains the gradual defection of many French Canadians who resort to the English papers. Why indeed read a translated despatch in a French newspaper when one can find the original in detail in an English paper? The formula itself of the information press of Quebec is an imitation of the North American newspapers. Our newspapers are translations from English and French-Canadian journalism has lost its original personality. Has it, at least, preserved its freedom?

**Freedom of the Press**

If one understands by the liberty of the press the duty to publish everything that reaches a press room, under one form or another, to report actual news as faithfully as possible, to publish protests and criticisms of society, to publish the speeches of those who denounce free enterprise of which the press itself benefits, one can then say that the French-speaking newspapers perform their duty. But if one has a less conservative view of freedom of the press, the answer is less favorable.

Indeed only seldom are attempts made to examine true problems from a perspective characteristic of French Canada. To find in our press disunion of problems related to this province, one must generally wait for abbés Dion and O'Neill to raise their voices, for Jean Drapeau to

## THE FUTURE OF FRENCH IN QUEBEC

By André Rigault

**ED'S NOTE** — Professor André Rigault is a familiar name to readers of the McGill Daily. Lecturer in linguistics and Assistant Professor of French, he received his education in France. He is the director of McGill's French Summer School. This article is his second major contribution to the Daily this year, the first one being an article on Albert Camus for the special page on that Nobel Prize author in December.

Is there such a thing as a French Canadian "language"? The answer is no. No, in the sense that Canadian French and French from France do not constitute two separate languages, and that Belgian French and Swiss French are not autonomous languages. As far as I know, there is so such thing as a French Canadian grammar or a Belgian French dictionary. Schools and Universities around the world (including Laval and Montreal) do not teach Canadian, Belgian or Swiss French, but FRENCH, and one of the official languages in Belgium, Canada and Switzerland is FRENCH without qualifying epithet.

Indeed a difficulty arises from the fact that the word "French" does not cover the same reality when used in linguistics as distinguished from politics. France is a country; Belgium, Canada and Switzerland are other nations. A French-speaking Belgian, Canadian or Swiss does not consider himself — and rightly so — as a "Frenchman". In fact, in Belgium, he calls himself Walloon, not "French Belgian"; in Switzerland, Suisse romand, not "French Swiss". It is perhaps unfortunate that French Canadians have not coined a word of their own to designate themselves although, actually they have one: they call themselves "les Canadiens", as distinguished from "les Anglais". The trouble is that "les Anglais" also call themselves "Canadiens", the others being "the French"! It is true that a tendency now exists to say "Canadiens de langue française" (French-speaking Canadians) and "Canadiens de langue anglaise" (English-speaking), but those expressions are quite cumbersome.

Although Walloons, Quebecers, etc. . . are not French, their language is French. In the same manner, Austrians are not Germans although they speak German; Americans, Australian and Canadians are not English although they speak English. The English heard in Canada is certainly as different from British English as French in this country is from French spoken in France.

Thus an apparent paradox: French in Canada is different from the French in France, yet

dare to make the speech he made on the 22nd of January at the St. Denis', for Cardinal Léger to publish, on the front of *La Pesse*, a letter denouncing that which the newspapers themselves did not dare to denounce. In the Legislative Assembly in Quebec City, where the most unbelievable abuses are constantly committed, newspapermen are passive, indifferent witnesses. With the exception of *Le Devoir*, which dailies denounce the abuses of the government? The French-speaking press? No. The English-speaking? No.

How can one wonder at the profound silence of the French-speaking press, depersonalized, americanized as it is, when readers, annoyed by a formula which no longer answers their needs, adopt the yellow press which offers them entertainment in unadulterated form? One must add-

(Continued on Page 16)

it is not a different language! At this point, we must take into consideration the two aspects of French. It has a written and a spoken aspect. It is by the spoken language that people from the various French-speaking areas distinguish themselves. It does not take long for the traveller in Belgium, French and Switzerland to detect a multitude of local pronunciations and local words (I am not speaking here of the local "dialects" still used in some provinces, which are not French but varieties of Romance derived from Latin). These local ways of speaking are what I would call geographical or horizontal varieties of French.

The average observer will also notice social or vertical differentiations in the manner French is pronounced. The more educated people are, the more they use a French resembling the one taught in schools. In short, each individual speaker finds himself at the crossroads of geographical and social linguistic patterns. Hence the numerous varieties of spoken French, some of which are noticeable only to a trained ear.

However it does not take long to detect the origin of a person speaking French with a typically Belgian, Swiss, Canadian, Marseilles, Lyons, Alsatian, Lille or Parisian accent. Even in this province, it is quite easy to guess whether an individual comes from Montreal, Quebec City or St. Joseph de Beauce. As for the so-called "Parisian" French—usually confused with what I would call "Standard" French—it is itself a local variety of French characterized by a particular pronunciation which is not considered as being very refined and by a lot of local slang words.

It is true of course that "Standard" French developed in very narrow circles, i.e., among the aristocrats and later the educated bourgeois of Paris. Students of French know well the influence of the Parisian "salons" in the 18th century on the evolution of "French" as France was unified very early with a strong central government in Paris and as Paris was the meeting place of writers and "beaux-esprits" for centuries, the language used by Parisian aristocrats and bourgeois was considered the only "good" French and imitated so widely that today it has become the "Standard" French taught all around the world, the French

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## THE FRENCH-CANADIAN THEATRE

By Jean Béraud

**ED'S NOTE** — Jean Béraud, drama critic of "La Presse", dean of drama critics in Montreal, Prix David, C.D.A., is the author of "Initiation à l'Art Dramatique." In April he is scheduled to publish with the Montreal "Cercle du Livre de France" a book on the history of the theater in Montreal, under the title: 350 ans le théâtre au Canada français.

Louis Hémon, speaking of the traditions and of the French inheritance which make up the spiritual and sentimental climate of Quebec province, had a Voice speak to Maria Chapdelaine: "...au pays de Québec rien n'a changé... nothing must die, nothing must change..."

He was right, in a way. And his readers accepted his message so literally that, for a while, it could be believed that nothing, but nothing at all, could and would change. Happily, in another way, he was very wrong. Things are changing now at last, and for the best.

In the theatre, for instance. During more than a century, our French-Canadian playwrights dedicated themselves mostly to the evoking of the past, without even a glance at what was happening in them and around them. In a lighter mood, they would imitate French playwrights by making fun of society, but in a very limited field of observation. Our own actors, usually surrounded by actors imported from France or from Belgium, would only occasionally devote themselves to the performance of a Canadian play, the Parisian melodrama or vaudeville being much more secure at the box-office. While it was thought that one should go and hear a Canadian play written here, it was considered more as a patriotic duty than as an artistic responsibility.

In fact, in the last 20 years, there has been such a considerable change in the general attitude of French-Canadian playgoers, that although I thought I could use most of an article written on the same topic, in April, 1941, for "Le Quartier Latin", I find that what was probably right at that time would definitely be wrong today.

I was complaining then about the Iron Curtain drawn up in Montreal between East and West, and which on a smaller scale, was typical of Canada as a whole because of the failure of its two main races to mix intellectually and to understand each other. Since then, the Stratford Festival, after the Dominion Drama Festival, has appeared and grown up, attracting English and French playwrights and actors, as well as playgoers of different origins, and offering them the privilege of partaking in a double culture. In recent years, observers have marvelled at the presence of so many English playgoers at the performances given by la Compagnie Madeleine Renaud-Jean-Louis Barrault or la Comédie-Française, and of so many French playgoers at Her Majesty's theatre for performances of Shakespeare or O'Neill. But what is still more comforting is the attendance of such bilingual audiences at the plays offered by le Theatre du Nouveau Monde, le Theatre-Club or before Gratien Gelinas as Fridolin or Ti-Coq.

A change has also occurred in our educational background, in the sense that, if a Father Legault was allowed to form a group like Les Compagnons,

this means that a very strong prejudice against the theatre has been overcome and upset by a long-awaited understanding of the importance of Drama in the cultural progress of a nation.

Another point that was raised in that article of 1941 was the amazing apathy of our governments with respect to the arts, more particularly in regard to Drama.

But since then we have had the enquiry by the Massey Commission; an Arts Council has been established in Montreal; a National Arts Council is at work in Ottawa. All this seems quite unexpected after so many years of neglect, so many years during which our best artists have exiled themselves in Europe or in the States and so many talents have gone to waste. But the fact is, that our governments — federal, provincial, and municipal — have finally found some money to help the development of the arts in Canada.

There we are now, with a very different outlook. Le Theatre du Nouveau Monde, which had to beg for money to be able to accept the honour of representing Canada at the International Drama Festival in Paris, can now go on a tour of French and Belgian cities, and appear at the Brussels World Fair with the assurance of return tickets to Montreal. Gratien Gelinas, with the help of the provincial government and a brewery, can open La Comédie Canadienne and give a change to his fellow-playwrights. Other Companies, like le Theatre-Club and Le Rideau Vert, will be able to produce plays without spending on them all the money their actors earn in TV, with the chance for some of them to devote more time to their stage work.

Money is an important item in the production of plays, but it is not, evidently, a complete solution. There are still problems to be solved, the most important being: where are our playwrights and when will they be ready to write good plays? Although some of them have succeeded in writing fairly good plays, the knowledge of theory has always been lacking and the practice of the stage has proven insufficient to insure their efforts against the wear of time and the technical evolution of Drama. What Canadian writer has written a play which still may be performed with success ten years after its

(Continued on Page 16)

## ACCOMPAGNEMENT

I walk beside a joy

A joy that is not mine

A joy of mine which I cannot take

I walk beside myself in joy

I hear my joyful footstep marching beside me

But I cannot change places on the sidewalk

I cannot put my feet in those steps and say

Look it is I

For the moment I am content with this company

But secretly I plot an exchange

By all sorts of devices, by alchemies,

By blood transfusions

Rearrangements of atoms by balancing tricks

So that one day, transposed,

I shall be carried along by the dance of those joyful steps

With the noise of my footstep beside me

dying away

With the fall of my own lost step fading to my left

Under the feet of a stranger who turns down a sidestreet.

**ED'S NOTE** — These poems, which first appeared in the summer 1957 issue of "The Tamarack Review", are translations of "Cage d'Oiseau", and "Accompagnement", which appear in the late Saint-Denis Gerneau's "Poésies Complètes" (Montreal: Fidès, 1949). Frank Scott, a professor of law at McGill University, is as famous as a poet and translator as he is as teacher, lawyer and wit.

## NEW TRENDS IN FRENCH-CANADIAN LITERATURE

By Maurice Blain

**ED'S NOTE** — The author of this article on the recent evolution of French-Canadian literature is a former newspaperman turned notary. He has worked on the staff of Le Devoir as literary critic and now writes for Cité Libre.

Like French-Canadian society and most of the spiritual foundations and traditional structures underlying it, French-speaking literature has undergone profound transformation during the last fifteen years. At that level, it is rigorously true that our letters reflect the precise time when a collective consciousness has developed in French Canada. While it might be untrue to affirm that our literature is going through a crisis, it is nevertheless true that it is in a state of unease, disquiet and search, whose accelerated mutations, whose forms and consequences are not all visible today.

One has said about our literature that it rose from adolescence to maturity. This is an insufficient and premature judgment. Our society and the human type generated by the Christian and French civilization of America are still at their beginning. Social and cultural maturity presuppose a much longer and more pregnant historical period of development. Moreover, with respect to the immediate spiritual past the same error of perspective almost always occurs: that of greeting every new form of art or thought as an ultimate and definite conquest. The progress of the human spirit is only obtained at the price of an infinite succession of births and deaths, truths and decadence, and errors during gestation. And perfection of its works — which is the only certain sign of maturity — supposes a human accomplishment which the conditions of American civilization have not yet enabled us to achieve. Our literature is emerging from childhood which is the epic age of any human collectivity.

I am not called upon (other articles will probably answer that question) to analyze the causes of that abrupt transformation: historical situation, social imperatives, political and religious conditioning. It is enough to recall that the explosion (éclatement) — discernible since the 30s — of the traditional type of French Canadian society has necessitated an almost total revision, painful and at times dramatic, but with very varied degrees and accents, of the values of our culture and our intellectual frameworks; of our collective development and of the particular destiny of man in that collective development, and especially of the received

and established notions of religious faith, spiritual liberty and the truth of art. But let us not be mistaken. That confrontation has for its real, if not conscious, object, the search for and the formulation of a new humanism here tailored to the measure of man, and whose reign only begins.

That global character, to become striking, does not indicate the essential element of the transformation of our letters. What is decisive and will certainly be the most lasting, is that the transformation appears in the form of a very large phenomenon of increased consciousness and understanding, and an attempt of spiritual liberation. Indeed, if you compare without transitions novels like Trente Arpents of Ringuet, Ménaud, Maître Draveur or L'Abatis, of Félix Antoine Savard, with Bonheur d'Occasion, of Gabrielle Roy, Félix or Mon Fils Pourtant Heureux, of Jean Simard, it is difficult to conceive that only about fifteen years separate these two worlds of imagination. The effect of dépaysement (translator's note: this French word is almost untranslatable and suggests a loss of contact, kinship, adjustment) is even more striking if one opposes Le Survenant of Germaine Guèvremont to Au delà des Visages of André Giroux; Au Pied de la Pente Douce, of Roger Lemelin, to Evadé de la Nuit of André Langevin or La Fin des Songes of Robert Elie.

It would be too reassuring to discover between these works differences only of milieu, climate, language or sensitivity. But we are faced rather with a break (rupture) between two worlds, a break noticeable in the style, the inclination of spirit, even in the nature of the ideas

which secretly feed that literature. As if our letters, between two generations, had made an unexpected leap, and the economy of several phases of transition in its spiritual progress. Two works of philosophical thought: Pour Un Ordre Personneliste, of François Hertel, and L'Inquiétude Humaine, of Jacques Lavigne, illustrate admirable the extremes of that rupture.

What has in fact happened? What has that becoming aware (prise de conscience) been? Simply this: man has appeared, he has ceased to belong to the collectivity and knows at last his real identity as an individual and his condition of solitude, apart from a rôle in a collectivity.

This appearance of the man results for the destiny of our literature in very important consequences. The more readily visible ones at present are:

1. French-language literature has ceased to be at the service of the French-Canadian collectivity. The traditional image of a balanced society, closed in on itself, bucolic and happy, has ceased to be true. The classical description of the ideal person, consecrated to, and identified with, the destiny of the nation, has reentered mythology. The function of the writer can no longer be associated to the struggle for cultural, religious or political survival.

2. The writer is aware of his isolation. The distance between the writer and the ideal or unreal community, and the new concern with the dignity of the writer's personal destiny have resulted in a frightening personal spiritual solitude. But if this generation is anxious, revolted or unjust, it is because

(Continued on Page 14)



"Par ses merveilleux talents, sa vaste culture et son dynamisme personnel, il a su s'élever rapidement jusqu'au sommet de la vie politique et sociale et prendre une place de premier plan dans la vie internationale. L'autorité incontestable dont jouit le Ministre des Affaires extérieures du Canada dans les assemblées délibérantes des nations du monde occidental lui a permis de rendre à notre pays d'inappréciables services et la très haute fonction de Président de l'assemblée générale des Nations-Unies qui vient de lui être confiée a jeté un lustre incomparable sur le Canada dont il a contribué à affermir le prestige international."

Mgr Parent, Recteur de Laval (... lorsqu'il décerna un doctorat honorifique à M. Pearson le 8 décembre 1952)

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# QUEBEC GRAPHIC ARTS

By Guy Viau

**ED'S NOTE** — Guy Viau is one of the best known personalities of Montreal's artistic scene. After studies at the Ecole du Meuble in Montreal and studies under architect Marcel Parizeau and painter Paul-Emile Borduas, he spent two years studying in Europe. Besides an active teaching career (presently at the department of Fine Arts, McGill University) he is a prominent contributor to various television and radio programs and to a number of Canadian publications.

It is in the French school that the contemporary French Canadian art takes its source. Paris is the spiritual center of modern art. It would have been abnormal, French as we have remained because of our deepest tendencies had we not found there a support, a jumping board, when the artists of all Western countries and of the entire world found in Paris a reason and a sensitivity. Even English-Canadian painters found their way thanks to Paris. Paradoxically, it was some of these English-speaking painters who first brought us the air of Paris. First James W. Morrice, and then, John Lyman. So if I dissociate French from English-Canadian painters, it is only to limit my subject. With some nuances, they both display the same spirit.

Strongly grafted on the Paris School, French-Canadian art of today, which, in effect, is generally limited to painting, nevertheless speaks a language which is its own. It expresses an immediate vitality, a forceful simplicity, a taste for what is elementary and authentic, a curious mixture of brutality, pudor and tenderness, a romanticism which brings it closer to the painting of Canadians from other parts of the country and from the whole continent. I would not want to fall into chauvinism, even unconsciously, but I would add that, in my view, in Canadian art today the tone is being given by French-Canadians.

The second Biennial of Canadian painting has just demonstrated it.

Most of these painters are abstractionists. But their ancestor is an anachronistic old man (who died recently, at the age of 90): Ozias Leduc, whose work and life are situated outside time. Through its themes and its methods, his painting, it is true, claims to be faithful to the old neo-classic tradition of academic painting, contemporaneous with Corot.

But with respect to that famous tradition, it is, by its spirit, non-actual, mysterious, disconcerting, leaving an after-taste which is vaguely surrealist and at times displaying arrangements which the most fanatic "tachistes" would not disavow. Leduc, moreover, was the first master of Borduas and despite his great age and his academic formation, he manifested unceasingly a most lucid sympathy towards the boldness of the present generation.

Paul-Emile Borduas is the most tormented, the most "committed" of our painters, always in search of a "new sense of reality" as he says himself. Exceptional teacher who formed an entire generation of young painters, theoretician, pamphleteer, author of such famous manifests as *Refus Global* which caused a violent upheaval at the Ecole du Meuble, Borduas was a partisan of the automatic writing dear to André Breton and to the Surrealists. He sought to liberate himself from his research in treatment and composition which he had first pursued in the wake of Renoir, the Fauves and Braque. He affirmed his will to rid himself of all methods in order to start anew with a world in raw stage, with the most complete of empiricisms. That automatic writing was in effect no more than an asceticism which

enabled him to give a form to his poetic intentions and to express his internal equilibrium. His recent works, still abstract, testify to the wisdom and the security of a contemplative.

Jean-Paul Riopelle, who was a student of Borduas, is a type of lumber jack who has flair and vitality, who heavily forces his way through an inextricable forest and clears it with a resonant ax. With vigorous energy he organizes very tight scaffoldings with an exuberant spatula, leaving no spaces, no rest. Riopelle now possesses an international fame and even in France, where he has elected to live, he is considered as one of the ten most important painters of our generation. Authors like René Huyghe and Michel Leuphor testify to it and even *Life* magazine recently devoted a color page to his works. The Museum of Modern Art in Cologne, Germany, opened its doors this year with a Riopelle retrospective.

Alfred Pellán is one of the most sensational of our painters. His first great exhibit in Montreal, in 1940, resulted in a rout for official academicism then supreme in Canada and in the sudden rise of living art. Canadian painting owes him a magnificent start and the contribution of an intense work. Although a major part of his work is abstract, I believe that Pellán is particularly valuable for his realistic painting, especially his portraits and still lifes of his first stay in Paris. Of an involuntary archaic character, they are strong and true works, amount the most significant of the entire Canadian painting. Pellán is the only Canadian and the youngest painter ever to have had the honor of a retrospective show at the Museum of Modern Art in Paris.

Jean Dallaire is the "imagist" of our painting. This is the name given in the Middle Ages to painters and sculptors. And I mean this in the sense that Dallaire shares in the spirit of the middle ages through his childless quality, his dreaminess and his taste for joking. All that moreover is impregnated with surrealism and with the tapestry style derived from the French ornamentists such as Picart-Ledoux and Turcot, mannerisms about which one should make no mistake. Plunged in his dreams, Dallaire creates a world of enchantment. Irony becomes tenderness and the pathos is

lightened with an infinitely moving light. Dallaire is both a poet and a bon vivant.

A primitive, self-taught painter, Mary Bouchard, who died in 1945, at the age of 35, expressed in her painting the flavor and the authenticity of the peasant soul. Many works of that little farm girl are nothing but charming documents on the several aspects of French-Canadian rural life. But others display a dreamy realism, if one can use that term, and contain a fine poetry, sensual and unclear.

During a prolonged stay in Europe, Fernand Leduc expressed warmth and joy in imaginary landscapes, very marked by the environment, the light, the surrounding climate. Since his return to Canada, his painting has become more and more intellectual and sober. Reacting against the automatism of his early days, Leduc goes so far as to adopt an impersonal treatment

and geometric figures to cover walls with vast monumental rhythms. It is the point of view of the Plasticians to which Louis Belzile and Fernand Toupin belong and who want, by a purely cerebral construction, to rediscover order and clarity, refusing romantic outbursts.

The characters of Albert Dumouchel, furtive phantoms, feerie appearances, familiar monsters, have something hieroglyphic which recalls Paul Klee for whom nature is not outside but in depth. Dumouchel indeed awakens a secret of irreality, of phantasy and humor which flows to the edge of consciousness. It is similarly the mystery of the depths which Leon Bellefleur evokes, not only through the subject (if one can speak of a subject): underwater flora and fauna, intra-uterine organisms with floating intricate membranes, but especially the atmosphere, the phosphorescent light

of an aquarium.

On the side of the realists, Jacques de Tonnancourt reduces what he sees to a schema which he expresses with rapid notations, a "stenography" often degenerating into superficial brio. His landscapes, strongly influenced by Roberts, are more intellectual than the latter's. Roberts is led by what he feels, de Tonnancourt by what he knows.

It is also from Roberts that Jeanne Rhéaume is born. In passing, here is a new phenomenon in Canadian life, this reciprocal influence on the cultural plane between French and English Canadians. Jeanne Rhéaume, who now lives in Florence, paints Canadian landscapes in the Tuscan countryside. That elegant, refined woman has a vigorous sense of nature.

Louise Gadbois has executed

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# THE SOCIAL SCENE

## FRANCE AND FRENCH-CANADA

By Jean-Marc Léger

**ED'S NOTE** — The lucid, thoughtful article which follows discusses the delicate problem (whose existence is not even suspected by outsiders) of the relationship between Frenchmen and French-Canadians. The author is a well-known Montreal newspaperman, who, after graduating from the University of Montreal and later the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris, joined the staff of *La Presse*, where he remained until 1956. He is now on the staff of *Le Devoir* as foreign-news editor. Jean-Marie Léger has travelled in various parts of the world and is considered an expert on the problem with which he deals here.

What is the attitude of the average French Canadian towards a Frenchman? This question begs another question: what is the attitude of that same French Canadian towards France? One must distinguish three things or three objects in that attitude: the France of olden days; the France of today; Frenchmen themselves. Someone has said, and I willingly subscribe to that statement:

"There are three things which French Canadians have not forgiven France: the 'abandonment' of 1760; the Revolution of 1789; the 'condemnation of marshal Pétain'."

Towards France of before the Revolution, there is, in our average French Canadian a total affection, an exalted faith, in insurmountable nostalgia. Towards the France of today, there

is a certain admiration for a country which is confusedly known as the elected territory of letters and arts (although one ignores everything of France's postwar achievements in economics, science and technique, domains considered the exclusive preserves of Germans and Americans), a great distrust for a country where anticlericalism and communism are alleged to reign and from which too many "disturbing" currents came, a certain condescending pity for a country which "is unable to govern itself" and where ministerial instability and financial disorder are believed to be chronic evils.

Finally, towards Frenchmen themselves, there is an attitude which goes from indifference to hostility (often accompanied, and quite curiously, with a certain

admiration). On the other hand, among the intellectuals there is a sympathetic prejudice colored by strong reservations. Patently among the masses, but also among the intellectuals (for varying reasons according to milieux and ideologies, and decreasing as one goes from the extreme right to the left) there is towards a Frenchman, distrust. One does not feel quite up to him and, for fear of being attracted, conquered, subjected, one stiffens.

The community of language, far from being a powerful aid, is an obstacle to understanding... at least as long as the average French Canadian will still be able to understand the average Frenchman (which is not always the case) and the average Frenchman will understand the speech of the average Canadian (which is not always the case), such being the state of our daily language which is moving increasingly towards becoming a patois. But at the moment, what makes the relationship between the two difficult; is a group of elements whose principal ones are the following three: ignorance, prejudice and an inferiority complex.

1. Ignorance. As astounding as it may seem, one must admit that the French-Canadian people is one of those which know

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## FUTURE OF FRENCH

that everyone eager to speak and write well feels compelled to learn.

When we come to written French, we may say that correctness of language depends on the education received by the writer. In all French-speaking countries, there are authors who use the language with great precision and others who use it with more slovenliness. The same is true for journalists. There are French newspapers which pride themselves on the impeccable style of their editorials, who campaign to preserve the purity of the French language, and there are more popular newspapers written in a manner closer to the local spoken language. (Ed's Note: See Michel Roy's article on the French-Canadian Press).

A person eager to write correct French relies on French dictionaries such as (Larousse) and French grammars. The spelling of French words is the same everywhere, and their meanings are defined by dictionaries. As for French grammar, its rules are found unaltered in manuals published in all French-speaking countries. It is interesting to note that the best French grammar now on the market has been written by a Belgian (Maurice Grevisse).

This does not mean that there do not exist local words and expressions. Some authors — we call them regionalist writers — use them to give to their writings a "local" flavor. However, they are not intelligible to people outside a narrow area. One may compare them to the jargon used in professional circles which is incomprehensible to the non-initiated.

In 1914, the excellent French Canadian linguist Adjutor Rivard said, in his *Etudes sur les parlers de France au Canada*, that three main groups might be isolated in the French spoken in the Province of Quebec. This is still valid although the relative importance of each group has changed since that time. (Let us put aside the

Maritimes, where the French used by "les Acadiens" is quite different). (1) The educated people; Most speak good French, hardly different from standard French when it comes to vocabulary and syntax, but different in pronunciation, in a way perhaps analogous to the difference between educated American English and Oxford English. In this group, there are people who speak French without any regional accent whatsoever.

(2) The country people, les "habitants": they speak old-fashioned French, a mixture of various dialects imported in the 17th and 18th centuries by the French settlers who came mainly from Northern and Western France: Normandy, Paris, Champagne, Poitou, Saintongue... This is not corrupted French, but rather a charming language with obsolete words. Frenchmen usually hear them with tenderness for they recognize many archaic expressions no longer used in standard French, but belonging to a grandmother's vocabulary or to 16th or 17th century French texts.

(3) The last group is found in the recently industrialized cities like Montreal, Sorel, etc. Workers, cab drivers, gas station attendants for instance, speak a corrupted language because they incorporate many words that are English, not even translated into French (Watchers, les tires and the like). Not only vocabulary but also syntax is influenced by English to varying degrees. When English Canadian criticize the French spoken in Quebec that is what they refer to. But French Canadians are aware of the danger and trying very hard to overcome it. The misunderstanding about Canadian French comes from people trying to compare the factory worker or gas station attendant in Montreal with the lawyer or the doctor in Paris. Such a comparison will not work in any language.

It is interesting to point out that numerous words used by the second and third group, and

(Continued from page 8)

occasionally by the first, are good old French words no longer used in standard French. Assis instead of asseoir (to sit down) may be found in Ronsard's poems (16th cent.): "Assis-nous sur cette molle couche". Fiable (reliable) is given by Littré in his famed dictionary (19th cent.) and André Gide occasionally used it. Mechant meaning mauvais (wrong, bad) as in "vous avez le méchant numéro" (you have got the wrong number) conforms to good 17th century usage. Hardes, which means now worn-out clothes, rags, is still used here with the meaning Beaumarchais gave to that word (garments) in *le Mariage de Figaro*, when the Countess says to Suzanne: "En allant lui chercher tes hardes, prends le ruban d'un autre bonnet". A cette heure (Maintenant, now) and pronounced "asteure" was common in ancient France. Montaigne used it and wrote it asteure: "Qu'ils ne me reprochent point les maux qui me tiennent asteure à la gorge". One could list dozens of such words. Some obsolete contractions are still used. Instead of saying: "la plume m'a échappé des mains" (My pen slipped from my hands. I dropped my pen) a French Canadian will say: "J'ai échappé ma plume". This construction is found in Pascal (17th cent.) and even Giraudoux (20th cent.).

Most of the features characterizing French Canadian pronunciation also are old French pronunciations surviving in this country. Final consonants for instance were pronounced in France until the 17th century. Most of them are now silent but are still sounded here, e.g., tout (toute), pantoute (pas en tout); or in proper names, Chabot pronounced (Chabotte); Morisset pronounced (Morissette). E before R is often pronounced A: ciarge (cierge: candle), sarpent (serpent: snake). This was common usage in the 16th century as we know

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## THE FUTURE OF FRENCH IN QUEBEC

from Ronsard, who wrote: "E is so close to A that we often confuse them", and rhymed: gendarmes and termes, armes and fermes (which indicates that second words were pronounced *tarmes* and *farmes*). The spelling *OI* is still pronounced by habitants "ooey" as it normally used to be until the beginning of the 19th century: e.g., *soir* (sooeyr), *paroisse* (paroueyse). Louis XIV pronounced the famous words: "le roi, c'est moi": le rooey, c'est moeey. In some other instances, *OI* is pronounced "ey": *froid* (freytte), *droit* (dreyte), *noyer* (neyer). Here again we know that Montaigne (16th cent.) wrote *creere*, as he pronounced, instead of *croire*. Still more characteristic of popular French Canadian pronunciation are short vowels *I* (fit), *u* (put) and *ou* (foot): *vite* (quick), is pronounced "Vit" instead of "veet"; *lune* (moon), somewhat like "leune"; and *foule* (crowd), "full" instead of "fool". *T* and *D* before *i* and *u* become *TS* and *DZ*: *dire* (to say): "dzire"; *étude* (study): "etsude"; *petit* (small): "ptsi"; *dur* (hard): "dzur".

We find here a situation quite similar to that of American English. Consult Mencken's *American Language*, you will be surprised to see that the language of this modernistic people is full of archaic words, expressions and pronunciations having long disappeared in Great Britain. This is quite natural; all languages separated from their mother tongue are submitted in their evolution to two opposite tendencies: archaism and neologism. This is true of French as well as English, Spanish and Portuguese when transplanted on the American continent.

So it is no surprise that, while retaining old French words, French Canadians have also coined words unknown in France: *vivoir* (living-room), *gazoduc* and *oleoduc* (pipe line), *annonceur* (speaker), *traversier* and *traversier* (ferry-boat), *magasiner* (to shop). They are in this respect better purists than the French themselves, who have borrowed those English words unchanged, and sometimes derived from them an atrocious new word such as *speakerine* (female speaker, pronounced "speckreen").

Finally, there are in popular French Canadian, a number of English words: *cute*, *smart*, *fun*, *sink*, *tires*, *coat*, *switch*, *reel*, etc. . . In some instances, only the frame of the sentence remains French, as in "la starp de votre fan est loose". We reach here an extreme limit: is it French or English, "Français" or pidgin French?

It is true that strong forces are at work against French in Canada, even in this province. First of all there is the economic pressure: most department stores, factories, all the big business are in Anglo-Canadian or American hands. For a French Canadian, a knowledge of English is a key to success and social promotion, when his English-speaking counterpart

has no need to know French. The working language in most factories is English, instructions at least are given in that language. In the field of technology English is unrivalled. Cars, electronic equipment, gadgets of all kinds, have originated in the United States and brought with them a bevy of English technical terms. Advertising is of course English and French. But all French advertising is a mere translation of English and sometimes what a translation: "Buvey X! Travaillez rafraichi!"

Here we touch on a more general problem. As it has often been said: French Canadians are a people of translators. As a matter of fact, most of the written material used in this province is translated from the English, not only advertising, but also recipes, instructions, directions, news bulletins from Press Agencies, laws, parliamentary debates, etc. . . Under these conditions, anglicisms are a permanent danger. Only trained translators and perfect bilinguals can avoid the many pitfalls a French Canadian encounters at each step of everyday life. It is quite easy — provided one has the will to do so — not to use English words, but it is much more difficult to detect "false cognates" i.e., words having the same or almost the same spelling in both languages but a different meaning or shade of meaning: *affecter* (influence), *anxieux* (désireux), *application* (candidature, demande de service), *balance* (solde), *change* (monnaie), *opportunité* (occasion), etc. . . Detection of these insidious anglicisms requires a never-failing attention and some amount of heroism.

The progressive americanization of the masses is a great danger to French Canadian survival. As Mr. Jean-Marie Laurence, Assistant Director General of the Normal Schools in this Province, points out: "There is a split between an elite in process of being 'intellectualized' and the people in process of being americanized... Authentic French tends to become a cultural (or 'show off') language while English infiltrates gradually into the 'communication' (i.e., everyday) . . . The linguistic problem in Quebec is in fact a sociological problem . . . This is a perilous situation".

There have been some suggestions that Canadian French may be left to evolve freely so that it become a "language" different from Standard French, a language with its own words, grammar rules, pronunciation. To this, Mr. Paul Msse, President of the "Société du Bon Parler français" answers: "This suggestion may be valid for the United States, the population of which will soon reach 200 million people, whose economical and industrial power is probably the highest in the world today. Americans can afford to cook up English their own way if they wish to do so. It is all different for a small group like ours, we are only five millions. What would be the prestige of what would become a local pa-

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tois? We would no longer belong to a great civilized language; it would better to switch to English for good . . ."

Most leading French Canadian educators hold the same opinion. Says M. J. M. Laurence: "Our numerical situation forbids us, at the present time, to attempt full linguistic autonomy, i.e. to elaborate a Canadian language specifically distinct from the French language, our mother tongue, one of the great languages of the world". So also thinks Mr. Pierre Daviault, Superintendent of Translations in Ottawa, one of the best French Canadian linguists: "What we do need is a great cultural language, not a small language unintelligible outside our small linguistic group". Certainly the choice is not between French and Canadian French, but between French and no French at all, for a French Canadian "language" would disappear in the long run, as local French disappeared in Louisiana.

Great literary languages have never been originally the mother tongue of uneducated people. When such a great language becomes the mother tongue of people in more or less extended areas, it is thanks to education, either indirectly (it is the unique language of educated people whose influence spreads out), or directly (through schools). This is why a huge effort should be made toward an improvement of the French school system and French Canadian educators themselves. Most Canadians agree on that particular point.

A reason for hope is the daily improvement of the quality of French language used by a growing minority, as well as the development of cultural French life in this Province, thanks to the sustained efforts and clear-sighted courage of educators, journalists, radio and TV people, actors . . . The quality of French on CBF is excellent. When one knows that in practically every French Canadian home there is a radio receiver and a TV set, one may expect an improvement of the language in the future. Moreover New Trade schools are opened and great attention is paid to the teaching of technical French terms. Let's turn now to another field: The excellent work done by educators in training a new generation of French Canadian linguists, translators and teachers, must also be mentioned here: Prof. Roch Valin at Laval, Prof. Jean-Paul Viray and abbé René Charbonneau at the University of Montreal, Mr. T. M. Laruent in Quebec City, Mr. Richard Bergeron in Sherbrooke, to mention only a few names.

Ten years ago, there was only one semi-professional theatrical troupe in Montreal (les Compagnons de Saint-Laurent); today as many as six professional troupes play simultaneously. Go and see (and hear) them, their French is excellent. It is not mere chance that the well-known Theatre du Nouveau Monde met with great success in Paris three years ago and at Stratford last summer. Read *Le Devoir*, you will see that its editorials

are models of correct French prose.

All this is very encouraging. However, you must bear in mind

that the French language is and will be for many years to come in a defensive position in this country.

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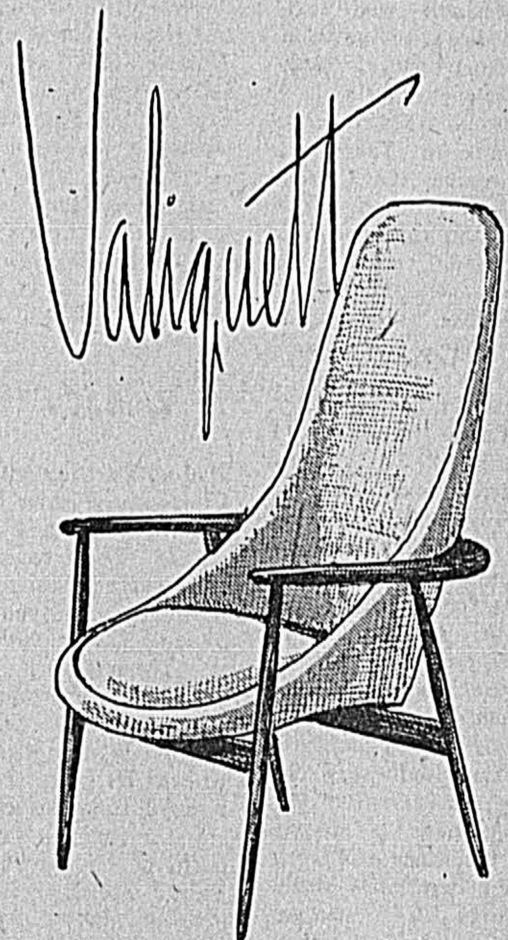
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## FRANCE AND FRENCH CANADA

(Continued from page 12)

the least about modern France (among those who have moderately important relationships with that country). Only the Americans excel us in ignorance, although in the case of the latter the disease is generalized, chronic and apparently incurable. First of all, the large news agencies which feed our press and radios are Anglo-American organizations which devote little attention to French news and often give it a biased coverage (ed.'s note: see, in this connection, the article of Michel Roy in this issue). Secondly, the elements which compose the daily life of the average French Canadian, carry in most cases the label "made in U.S.A." Furniture, food, clothing, cars, movies, sports, comics, radio, television (in part), advertising, all these are of American or Anglo-American inspiration, origin and style.

The majority do not suspect the existence or the very possibility of the existence of a large French industry, French science and powerful French technology. In that respect, the stupefaction manifested by many visitors at the French exhibit in Montreal in 1954 (how? France makes cars? machinery? planes? leads in electronics? etc.) was revealing. Happily, a change is taking place, but only very slowly. France is now sending us more scientific and technical speakers than "cultural" ones. Let us add that, except for some literary and political newspapers and magazines which only reach a small circle, French publications do not reach those French Canadians who could benefit most from reading them: engineers, businessmen, bankers and financiers, technicians, who now exclusively rely on American sources. There is a prevailing prejudice that Frenchmen may have brilliant ideas, but that they do not know how to put them into effect, that their economic concepts, their industrial methods, their administration, belong to another age, etc.

But how about the thousands of French Canadians who go to France each year? We all know that organized tours are the most nefarious institution from a point of view of the acquisition of knowledge of another country. As for students, while it is true that hundreds go to France each year, most do not take the trouble to know France or Frenchmen, they live in more or less closed circles, and have with Frenchmen only very circumscribed contacts. But one might think that the presence of several thousands of French immigrants in our midst would have improved the situation. However, the very reception they get here makes them avoid contacts with French Canadians and the only Frenchmen who are easily accepted here are those who try to make us forget that they are French.

2. Prejudices. They do not lack, from the accusation that France has "abandoned Canada" to the legend of "France of the Popular Front." In a country which apes the United States

in seeking the latest in material comforts, but adores conformism when it comes to ideas, one both accuses France of being 'obsolete in the fields of science and technique, and liberal or even anarchist on the plane of ideas, and even, it appears, morality. Furthermore, because of the traditionalist and jansenist Catholicism of Quebec, one cannot forgive France for having forgotten her role of "eldest daughter of the Church." In that connection, part of the clergy (and many French clerics came here when the anti-clerical Congregations law was passed in France after the Dreyfus case, at the turn of the century) is responsible for the falsehoods spread among French Canadians about "France-without-God." And then, a whole pseudo-touristic literature has spread the image of "Paris-Babylon" and other stupidities. Furthermore, since the Liberation of France, rightists have exploited the political difficulties of France to paint a picture of Communism triumphant in France. One could lengthen endlessly this list of gross popular prejudice which have fed the distrust, even malice, which only those Frenchmen who are officially consecrated can escape: scholars, speakers, teachers, actors, who are accepted not as Frenchmen, but as witnesses of a culture to which we are allegedly attached. Are also accepted, those Frenchmen held to be morally acceptable because they hold suitable rightist opinions.

3. Inferiority complex. That last element, has more or less importance depending on the social classes, but it plays an undeniable role. Fundamentally, and not always with reason, the French Canadian has the conviction of a certain superiority on the part of a Frenchman. And rather than acknowledge it, he closes up, he withdraws to a distrusting reserve, if not into outright hostility. He always suspect that the Frenchman wants to show him up,

wants to dictate to him and he feels confusedly that even when in a given discussion he, the French Canadian, is right, he will be unable to prove it adequately. He rages at not being as well equipped intellectually as he is materially and rather than admitting it, he withdraws. To avoid seeming inferior, he refuses contact; to impress, he resorts to harshness; to forestall the attack or irony he imagines as forthcoming, he wants to attack himself. Too many French Canadians in front of a Frenchman they meet for the first time, are at once on their guard, spying on his words, his looks, the smile of his "cousin" for confirmation of his suspicions that the Frenchman is about to criticize something, to mock at something.

This is an unhealthy, diseased attitude which contrasts strangely with the friendly confidence most Frenchmen arriving in Canada feel. Of course, one can cite dozens of cases of Frenchmen who were this or that, did this or that, said this or that!... But only too often have I been able to establish that the incidents were only born because of the very distrust of the French Canadians determined to find something justifying their prejudices in their French visitor. And let us add that these same French Canadians, at the very moment they show themselves so quickly sensitive to the least criticism, do not hesitate to comment, criticize, judge (generally with admirable ignorance) the internal politics of France, the events of North Africa, etc. The French Canadian "Right" has addressed appeals to the president of the Republic in favor of marshal Pétain, denouncing his condemnation for wartime treason. But this same Right wing became indignant the day when some Frenchman uttered mild criticism of the quality of our educational system.

Nostalgia for "Catholic and  
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## WHAT IS FRENCH CANADA

(Continued from page 1)

And nothing resembles more the United States than most parts of Canada and even of Quebec. Economically and materially we are American and it would be hypocrisy to say that we do not like it. What could distinguish us from Americans, however, besides our political system, is national maturity and tolerance, and particularly, a dynamic, many-sided cultural life. All this would be unthinkable without French Canada.

The necessity of compromise between both parts of our country may have prevented striking developments and generally toned down our political life to the level of colorlessness, but it has also produced a training in national tolerance which is beginning to bear its fruits and from which all minorities benefit. Bilingual, biracial countries cannot be radical or intolerant.

On the cultural plane, English Canada is still of little importance and probably is doomed to remain in the pale of the United States. But not so French Canada. Increasing bilingualism, increasing original French-Canadian artistic achievements, increasing interplay of opinions and philosophies, all these factors will have an impact on the Canada of tomorrow which may be far more significant than any of us can foresee.

We must not allow our dislike for dictatorial politicians, corrupt administrations and a decreasing number of reactionary neurotics to make us identify them with French Canada. The articles in this issue, the student strike, the existence of LE DEVOIR and CITE LIBRE, the desperately heroic struggle of Catholic labor unions, not only for better working conditions, but for the political education of Quebec (as described by Gérard Pelletier in his article) and the development of a less parochial view of nationalism, are some of the factors pointing to a hopeful future.

Claude Armand Sheppard.

## FRENCH CANADIAN LITERATURE

(Continued from page 9)

it places above everything the requirement of lucidity and the development of roots in a real world made to the measure of man.

3. Finally, our letters discover an internal universe just about unknown until now. It is that of man's fate, of his injustice and solidarity, of his passions and the freedom of his mind; of life and happiness. These are the themes of the major works of these last few years.

For our literature, these are as many signs of dynamism and life, of reasons for hope. But one must also protect oneself against a strange illusion: that of thinking that French-Canadian literature 'expresses and clearly translates the totality of that spiritual transformation in Quebec. Indeed, our concern with truth forces us to make two observations:

1. For reasons which partake both of the ambiguity of its language and of the unconscious character of its liberation, poetry has certainly preceded that phase of spiritual transformation and largely contributed to provoking and feeding it. It is our poets (and for them it is less a question of generations as of spiritual filiation) who have been and remain at the spearhead of that movement. This statement can be convincingly verified by Les Poésies and Le Journal of Saint-

Denys Garneau. The same can be said for Alain Grandbois (Rivages de l'Homme and l'Etoile Pourpre), André Hébert (Le tombeau des Rois), Roland Giguère, Réginald oBisvert, etc. In the childhood of a literature, poetry has always expressed the essential.

2. The becoming aware and the effort of liberation of this generation begin only now to be objectified in its literature. The new concern with man, the search for an agreement of man with the world, the attempt of reconciliation of man with the divine are far from having been formulated with clarity, force and serenity, (which would indeed be signs of maturity). Violently diffuse and contradictory in the actual currents of ideas, those anxieties most often take, in the written works, only the equivocal forms of intellectual confusion, tragic silence, passionate but unanswered questioning.

French-speaking literature for the last few years has been swept by a deep wave which will totally renew it. The contradictions and the passions which agitate it prevent today now from seeing clearly which tomorrow will be the works which it will procreate, even though their significance may be inscribed in everyone's spirit.

Ed's note: translated from the French by Claude-Armand Sheppard.

## MODERN QUEBEC NATIONALISM

(Continued from page 1)

1867 soit rigoureusement appliquée.

Ils considèrent comme une trahison toute concession qui est de nature à leur enlever la direction de leur vie politique, principalement sur le plan social et culturel. Le reproche qu'ils font à Duplessis, ce n'est pas d'être trop ou pas assez autonomiste, mais plutôt de ne pas se servir des pouvoirs que la province de Québec possède pour créer une forme de civilisation française originale et dynamique. Ils ne lui pardonnent pas entre autres choses de céder à trop bon compte les ressources naturelles de la Province à des capitalistes américains sans compensation appréciable pour le peuple québécois.

Ils lui reprochent surtout de ne pas donner à l'éducation à tous ses degrés le grand élan qui porterait Québec au sommet de la culture humaniste et de la recherche scientifique au Canada.

Les Canadiens-français sont d'ailleurs conscients qu'en développant leur propre originalité, ils contribuent à la défense de leur pays contre l'envahissement de l'américanisme. La

différence entre un Canadien de langue anglaise et un Américain n'est pas tellement considérable, puisqu'ils parlent la même langue, regardent les mêmes programmes de télévision et les mêmes films, chantent les mêmes chansons, etc. Mais entre un Américain et un Canadien-français, il y a la différence de la langue, de la mentalité, de la culture.

S'il n'y avait pas de Canadiens-français au Canada notre pays serait déjà conquis sur le plan culturel comme il l'est déjà à moitié sur le plan économique. De là à accepter la conquête politique, le pas n'est pas tellement grand. Il ne faut pas oublier que nous sommes coincés entre l'URSS et les E.U. Que nos charmants voisins estiment un jour qu'ils ont besoin de nos 3,700,000 milles carrés territoire pour mieux se protéger, et c'en est fait de l'indépendance du Canada. Les Canadiens français ont déjà repoussé une première fois les armées américaines sous les murs de Québec en 1776. Qui sait si dans une ou deux générations on n'aura pas besoin de nouveau d'avoir recours à leurs services.

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## A FREE THINKER LOOKS AT QUEBEC

with me for years to the best teachings of the Church in the classical "collèges" and later in the Catholic universities. It was pointed out to me that the students were subjected to other influence than that of the Church, in their family, social links and intellectual pursuits and above all, found it necessary to adjust their set of values when they found themselves in direct competition with people not so governed. This explanation fails to satisfy me. I cannot understand how these young men could overtly submit for years to the most vexatious regulations of their masters with apparent inner consent and suddenly throw them off as soon as they step out on their own, unless a slow and gradual process of deterioration of their faith had silently taken place in them, simmering until an opportunity for free expression occurred.

Some explanation might be found in the method of indoctrination. Fear of everlasting pain in a hell rendered quasi real by years of suggestive persuasion is to the Catholic what fear of Siberia is to the Russian worker. Whether one is more effective than the other is a matter for conjecture, but there is no doubt that they are valuable means of enforcing the party line. The Church has probably overdone this aspect in Quebec. Too much of a good thing breeds disgust and that is the general attitude which many intelligent French Canadians have towards religion when they leave College. It is little surprising that upon reaching maturity and independence, they should shake off the bulk of their masters' teachings and much good with it. Educators long ago have learnt not to insist too much on any one point, since much of education is obtained by way of reaction, and a subtle manner of imparting knowledge is sometimes to suggest the contrary of what is intended. This is well borne out by the fact that overbearing fathers fail dismally in educating their sons, while the best Parliamentary Assistants are to be found attending impotent Ministers of State. Cynicism is fostered by insisting upon the observance of too rigid a moral code.

Nevertheless, I lean towards the belief that there is a more fundamental reason for the aberrations observed. Wherever Catholic education is mentioned, there is implied the philosophy of Saint Thomas Aquinas. The latter rendered useful services at a time when Platonism in various forms was invading Europe and threatened the Church with its rational argumentation. The Church's fault was to adopt Aquinas' as its official and unchangeable philosophy. Since Aquinas takes the revelation for granted and proceeds to show how it is in agreement with reason, some of the reasons given are bound to carry little conviction, particularly in the light of modern developments. Furthermore, this attitude made the development of a new Aquinas impossible. There is much in the teachings of Christ that is demonstrable by logic and much that is not. Appeal to Scripture in the context of a rational discussion, can only in-

vite scorn and contempt, while stretching logic to prove a point will inevitably lead to distrust of logical processes and show the way for one's opponent to make similar abuse. After years of study led, if allowed a minimum of personal reflection, to believe that any proposition, no matter how far fetched, can be demonstrated by logic if a sufficient number of fine distinctions be made. With this comes aversion to speculation and refuge is taken in the more practical and profitable aspects of life. The formula has proven its value in giving unchallengeable training to generations of lawyers in Quebec as elsewhere, but whether this was the effect contemplated

With this insistence on Saint is another matter.

Thomas Aquinas and the other doctrines of the Church, there is little room in the curricula for mention of other ideologies once the essentials of technical education are covered. For instance, there are many Liberals in Quebec politics, but remarkably few who know anything of what Hobbes, Bentham, Locke, Berkeley and Hume stood for.

More emphasis upon official doctrine therefore, is sufficient to drive out foreign ideologies by the simple process of monopolizing all available time. Needless to say that this applies with even greater force to the more extreme forms of socialism, and to Marxism which is held to be opposed to and absolutely inconsistent with Catholicism. It is little wonder that having organized along lines familiar to the Church, and having ruthlessly carried to logical conclusion the methods employed throughout the centuries by religious leaders, Marxism should be held to be the enemy, and as long as the Catholic Church maintains its influence and its control of education in the Province of Quebec, there need be so fear

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as to the social orthodoxy of Quebec — at least while the present favorable economic conditions subsist. Furthermore, as a minority group anxious to preserve its separate language and social system, French Canada will necessarily oppose all forms of federal government centralization without which no form of socialism could establish itself in the country.

How long would French Canada's social conservatism survive a weakening of religious authority is of course problematic. There is every reason to believe that the sudden disappearance of Catholic ideology would leave room for a host of others since care has been taken not to teach them, hence the French Canadians would be unguarded against them. Such a development is not likely to take place within the foreseeable future, and in any event, account must be taken of the rising influence of psychiatry wherever religious influence is on the decline. Psychiatrists are becoming the grand priests of the modern era, keeping recalcitrants in line lest our Gods topple and with them the appreciable benefits they derive from their existence. Anyone suspect of nurturing the ambitions of a J. P. Morgan or the revolutionary ideas of a Lenin is promptly husked away to a psychiatrist, and those may succeed social ideas are painfully extirpated, sometimes with the help of weakening drugs. Semantics are just as powerful to-day as they were in medieval times and the simple method of suggesting monstrous tabs under which to classify undesirable characteristics is still an effective means of compelling obedience. Of course, there are Catholic psychiatrists, and those may succeed where the confessor has failed.

The key to Quebec's future lies in the system of education it will adopt and the extent to

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## SOVEREIGNTY FOR QUEBEC?

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to grow into an independent state. Seldom has the world seen so many unknown lands or former colonies suddenly emerge into independent nationhood. French Canada has been impressed by this fact and the younger generations of French Canadians, who have had more opportunity than ever to travel throughout the world, feel ill at ease and discontented when they compare their country to what they have seen abroad. And naturally enough they begin to wonder why they too could not have a land of their own, where they could shape their national destiny and where they could at last be themselves, fully themselves and only themselves.

### The New Nationalist School

These are the facts and the way of thinking that have led part of French Canada's youth to conclude — as their elders have often done — that the only solution for them is the breaking of the confederative pact and the establishment of an independent French state in what is today the Province of Quebec.

In addition to the old nationalist schools which are still active in such organizations as Les

Chevaliers de la Table Ronde and L'Ordre de Jacques Cartier, a new "sovereignist" movement is now developing in groups such as L'Alliance laurentienne, Tradition et Progrès and Les Associés de Neuve-France. The emphasis is not so much on separatism as on a broader program of political and social reforms. The new Laurentian movement considers secession from the Confederation as only one of many steps leading to the creation of a modern Republic in Quebec. Economic theory has taken the place of the old sentimental approach and the tenants of the new nationalism are seeking a formula that would solve Quebec's social and labor dilemmas as well as her political problems. There is no longer any hatred for "les Anglais", but rather a desire for sincere co-operation with English Canada on a nation to nation basis.

It is not a question of racial hostility: French Canadian nationalism now goes far beyond the traditional element of fear. It is based on the will to re-establish a normal state of affairs, a natural situation which is essential to a people's progress and evolution.

## FELICITATIONS

au McGill Daily et à sa jeune équipe pour son courage et son franc parler au cours de la récente campagne municipale.

En effet, il fallait du cran, et même ce que May West appelait "intestinal fortitude", pour dire sa façon de penser aux grands journaux d'affaires anglophones, qui ont graduellement perdu contact avec l'élite montréalaise d'expression anglaise.

Certains politiciens et brasseurs d'affaires ont réussi à diviser les deux grandes races canadiennes mais cette exploitation est finie.

D'ailleurs, dans ce domaine, la jeunesse canadienne, non encore entamée par les compromis politiques et les tractations financières, voit très souvent plus clair que les anciens.

Je souhaite que nous, les anciens, ne soyons pas un sujet de scandale pour ces jeunes qui veulent se libérer et servir, en ces heures décisives, la Cause de Dieu et de nos frères, et ici je précise, nos frères blancs, jaunes, bruns, rouges et noirs.

Bravo! Jeune Canada.

F. A. Senécal, président,  
Comité de Moralité Publique  
de Montréal

## Free-Thinker Looks At Quebec

(Continued from page 15) which it will succeed in divorcing it from Church control. Influential Church personalities have maintained that the Church is not anxious to retain responsibility for education that far exceeds its own requirements to train young people for the priesthood, but even if this were the official view of the Church, one might doubt of its sincerity. Yet, I hope that any emancipation from Church control will not introduce into French Canadian colleges the adolescent brutality which prevails in its English Canadian counterparts, probably abetted by excessive stimulation of the predatory instincts in sports, their contempt for pure knowledge and general persecution of "eggheads". It is noteworthy that most English Canadian teachers and professors either are "sporty" types who went along with the herd, or "odd" types who appear heavily mortgaged from the strains of having fought against their environment for years. While the education system in Quebec is in many respects satisfactory, a number of reforms are necessary. The present Quebec Government view appears to be that ignorant masses are easier to govern. Although the Church has never quite gone this far, ardent pursuit of its own policies has sometimes produced the same results. This stems from the familiar assertion that it is better to love God than to know Him.

I feel that I could not end this article without asking the question: "What would Canada be without Quebec?" Surely, it would be much less valuable culturally. Possibly, there might exist a small island of enlighten-

ed humanists in the heart of Toronto or at old McGill, well shelved in the business vault for future reference. But the obliteration of Quebec would leave a vacuum in our national culture which I believe would be hard to fill. Despite its shortcomings, there is in the Church an idealism which transcends the Church itself and which, blended with Latin culture, makes the French Canadian closer intellectually to England than to America and may serve as a rampart against the cheap commercialism of the invading American mass-produced culture.

### FRENCH THEATRE

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original production? . . .

The remedy may be found in a theatre like La Comédie Canadienne, where authors, actors, stage directors and designers will have the opportunity of working together on a manuscript until it is really fit to be produced in public. We certainly possess promising talents, some even whose past realizations warrant great hopes for the future. Such is the case of Gratien Gélinas himself, of Marcel Dubé and Paul Toupin. We have wonderful decorators like Robert Prévost and Jacques Pelletier. The actors we have, in great number. Original, distinctive Canadian authors, able to express themselves in dramatic language and in such a way that their plays cannot be termed as French, English or American, but unquestionably as Canadian plays, with universal appeal and significance, such are now the main craftsmen we must be looking for.

mit that these scandal sheets — not all of which are immoral or scandalous — use techniques of journalism which attract and keep readers. In that respect, they are more progressive than the dailies. To say that a newspaper encourages the young to crime, is to forget that compulsory education is not observed in this province, that the law prohibiting the sale of liquor to minors is seldom observed; it is to refuse to admit that the present crime wave is not the work of the yellow press, but a social phenomenon of the loosening of morals everywhere in the western world, a phenomenon of which the scandal press is the consequence and not the cause.

Some newspapermen maintain that it is impossible to interest the public in international or political news. They are obviously wrong. It is enough to see the extraordinary popularity enjoyed by the TV program Point de Mire (Sunday night, on CBFT) during which news commentator René Lévesque, during half an hour, accomplishes the work of

explanation which the information press has been neglecting in the last 10 years. The interest surrounding that program is such that taxi drivers today know the aims pursued by NATO and can discuss the recent crisis in Tunisia intelligently.

Le Devoir, more modestly, but with lucidity and intelligence, achieves a similar aim. One might object that its circulation is much smaller than that of Montréal-Matin, but one must point out that a newspaper can not as rapidly as television, acquire readers which it has disappointed for long. Since Le Devoir has broadened its formula, multiplied its articles, increased its personnel, its circulation has leaped. Halfway between a North American daily and the European newspaper, its formula is destined to some success in Quebec.

### A True Revolution Needed

It is indeed a true revolution which is needed in the Quebec press. The newspapers must renew their formula and abandon the myth of "objectivity". News-

papermen are not the impartial witnesses of life, the stenographers of actuality. Objectivity in matters of information naturally supposes an account of the facts, but it also requires an explanation of these facts, without which objectivity is only a code which only the minority can understand. Freedom of the press is less menaced by external dangers than by the ruin of its principle. It requires the courage of state, beyond the facts, what has caused them and what their meaning might be.

Without a strong press, a lucid, living, dynamic press, the divorce between the élite and the masses will increase in Quebec. "A newspaper, and especially a daily", Jean Drapeau wrote in 1956, "has today a civilizing role in the highest meaning of that word. It is not permitted to refuse it without gravely failing in its duty." and he added: "The social context where we live makes of the newspaper . . . the instrument of moral and intellectual progress of the people."

The French-speaking press has thus a precise duty to perform. It does not achieve that duty merely by denouncing the yellow press (a dangerous competitor, by the way). The commercial character of the enterprise publishing a newspaper is not incompatible with a desire to inform and educate. There are in this province many excellent French-speaking newspapermen who, in their respective dailies, await the call to action.

Ed's note: translated by Claude-Armand Sheppard.

## France and French-Canadians

(Continued from page 14)

monarchic" France — the "true" France —; admiration mixed with distrust for a country which remains the ideal land of the mind; ignorance and prejudice towards contemporary France; hostile distrust towards the majority of Frenchmen: this is the summary of the attitudes of the average French Canadian towards France. To correct it (and our very survival is at stake) French Canadians must be made to feel, first of all, that they share with France the whole history

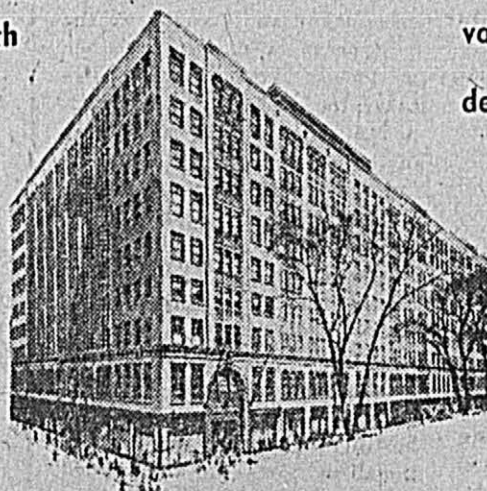
of France and that their ancestors were part of that history; that they belong to the wide cultural world of France, outside of which they could not long survive; and they multiply the means of knowing modern France, its greatness and its real influence.

This is a primordial task for press and school. But for that two things are necessary: they must understand the need, and they must be willing to meet it. Ed's note: translated from the French by Claude-Armand Sheppard.

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